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ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines relative clauses in Spanish. The introduction compares various characteristics of Spanish and English relative clauses, while chapter 1 contrasts restrictive and appositive relative clauses. The question of which relative forms should be generated by the grammar in both types of clauses is considered. Chapter 2 handles restrictive relative clauses whose underlying head is a definite, nonhuman PRO and those whose underlying head is a human PRO, either definite or indefinite. Chapter 3 discusses infinitival restrictive relative clauses, and chapter 4 initially deals with the feature (INDIVIDUAL) in relation to relative clauses. A more detailed examination of the underlying structure and surface structure of restrictive relative clauses follows. The feature (CARDINALITY) is seen to play a role in determining the surface relative form which occurs in restrictive clauses. Sample derivations are offered. The chapter concludes with a tentative formulation of rules which account for the various restrictive relative forms. Chapter 5 is a preliminary examination of comparative clauses. The underlying structure of the quantifier phrase and the "mucho/muy" complementarity are discussed, and comparative clauses and restrictive and for various comparative sentences, including certain comparisons of equality and for various comparitive sentences, including certain comparisons of equality and comparisons of inequality. (Author/CLK)

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Los Angeles

Relative Clauses in Spanish

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy in Romance Linguistics and Literature

by

Susan Joan Plann

FL007588

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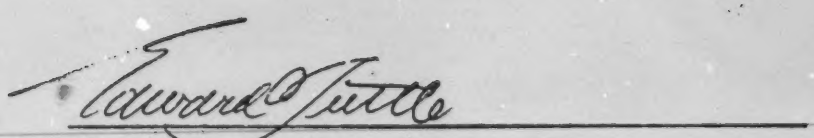

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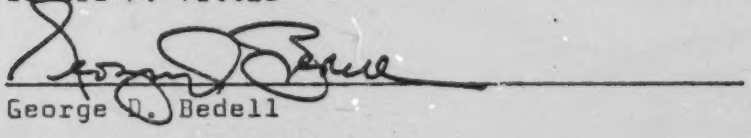

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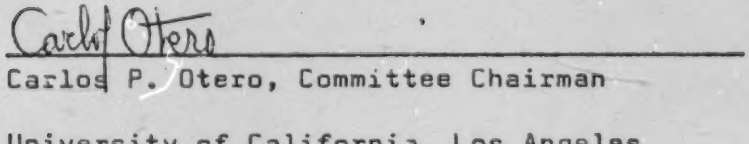

Carlos P. Otero, Committee Chairman

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1975

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Relative Clauses in Spanish

by

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Doctor of Philosophy in Romance Linguistics and Literature

University of California, Los Angeles, 1975

Professor Carlos P. Otero, Chairman

The subject of this study is relative clauses in Spanish. The Introduction compares various characteristics of Spanish and English relative clauses. Chapter 1 contrasts restrictive and appositive relative clauses. After a brief discussion of the underlying structures of appositive and restrictive relatives, the question of which relative forms should be generated by the grammar in both types of clauses is considered.

Chapter 2 consists of a discussion of restrictive relative clauses whose underlying head is a definite, nonhuman PRO and those whose underlying head is a human PRO, either definite or indefinite.

Chapter 3 begins with a discussion of infinitival restrictive relative clauses. It is seen that two possible underlying heads for such clauses are the indefinite, human PRO which was originally discussed in Chapter 2, and its nonhuman counterpart.

Chapter 4 begins with a discussion of the feature (INDIVIDUAL) in relation to relative clauses. This is

followed by a more detailed examination of the underlying structure and surface structure of restrictive relative clauses. The feature (CARDINALITY) is seen to play a role in determining the surface relative form which occurs in restrictive clauses. After giving further consideration to the question of restrictive relative forms, some sample derivations are offered. The chapter concludes with a tentative formulation of rules which account for the various restrictive relative forms.

Chapter 5 is a preliminary examination of comparative clauses. After a discussion of the underlying structure of the quantifier phrase and an explanation for the mucho/muy complementarity, a comparison is made between comparative clauses and restrictive relative clauses. Underlying structures are suggested for partitives and for various comparitive sentences, including certain comparisons of equality and comparisons of inequality.

Introduction

Comparison of Spanish and English relative clauses

When Spanish and English relative constructions are compared, one of the differences which is most immediately obvious is that Spanish contains a greater number of relative forms. It is evident then that there can be no one-to-one correspondence between Spanish and English relative forms.

The Spanish relative forms which will be discussed in the following chapters are quien(es), que, el (la, los, las) que, el (la, los, las) cual(es), lo que, and lo cual. These forms are translated by the English relative forms who(m), which, and that, depending partly on the context in which they occur. It would be in no way possible to tell a student of Spanish that a certain Spanish relative form always translates the English relative who, or the English relative which. Nor could a student of English be told that a certain relative form always translates the Spanish relative quien, or que. The matter is much more complex. For example, quien in (1) is translated as who (or whom) in (2). But in a sentence like (3), in which quien would be ungrammatical in Spanish, que, the complementizer, must be expressed in English as the relative who, not by the complementizer that, as can be seen in (4):

(1) Juan, a quien habían notificado por correo,...

(2) John, who(m) they had notified by mail, ...

(3)(a) Juan, {que / *quien} había sido notificado por
(b) correo, ...

(4)(a) John, {*that / who} had been notified by mail, ...
(b)

In (5), on the other hand, either who or that is grammatical in English, but in (6), the Spanish translation, only que, not quien, is grammatical:

(5)(a) the individual {who / that} had been notified by mail
(b)

(6)(a) el individuo {*quien / que} había sido notificado
(b) por correo

Similarly, in (7) either which or that is grammatical in English, but in Spanish both must be translated by que, as can be seen in (8):

(7)(a) the book {which / that} I needed to consult
(b)

(8) el libro que necesitaba consultar

Since in sentences like (5a, b) both who and that have the same translation, and in sentences like (7a, b) both which and that have the same translation, obviously Spanish cannot make the distinction which English makes in such restrictive clauses between who and that, or between which and that. Admittedly in sentences like (5a, b) and (7a, b) it is difficult to perceive any difference in meaning, but in sentences like the following the difference is clear:

(9) (Cinderella stomped out of the room in a rage.)

(a) She's not the woman { that / *who } she used to be!
(b)

(10)(a) Dressed like the country gentleman { which / *who } he
(b) was not and never would be

It seems that in English who cannot occur after nonreferential nouns, that is, after nouns which have no referent. Thus who is ungrammatical in (9b) and (10b). But in Spanish no distinction can be made between the relative forms in such cases. Note that que occurs in (6) and (8), which contain referential nouns, as well as in (11), the translation of (9a), which contains a nonreferential noun:

(11) Ella (ya) no es la mujer que era

However, Spanish relative forms distinguish between identity of sense and identity of reference between the relative form and the antecedent. In (12a) there is understood to be identity of reference between la cual and its antecedent, una buena recomendación, but in (12b) there is understood to be only identity of sense between lo que and its antecedent:

(12)(a) Me dieron una buena recomendación, { la cual / lo que }
(b) me hacía mucha falta

In English both (12a) and (12b) must be translated as (13):

(13) They gave me a good recommendation, which I really needed

The Spanish relative form lo cual is the only form which can occur in sentential appositive clauses.[1] In English which

occurs in sentential relatives, as well as in some appositive and some restrictive relatives. Thus (14), which contains a sentential relative, must also be translated as (13) in English:

(14) Me dieron una buena recomendación, lo cual me hacía mucha falta

The English sentence (13), then, corresponds to no less than three different Spanish translations.

Tho it has been seen that in sentences like (5) the complementizer <u>that</u> can occur in restrictive relatives in English, it can never occur in English appositive relatives:

(15)(a) They stepped gingerly thru the garbage, {which / *that}
(b) was scattered all around

(16)(a) Everyone left but Tom, {who / *that} stayed to clean
(b) up the mess

(17)(a) Almost everyone left at once, {which / *that} was a
(b) relief

But in Spanish the complementizer <u>que</u> is sometimes the only relative form which may occur in appositive clauses. This is true when the appositive clause is not dominated by a preposition and when the head is a proper noun, a possessive noun phrase, or a personal pronoun:

(18)(a) Alicia, {que / *quien / *la cual} no es tan intransigente
(b)
(c) como los otros, aceptó el compromiso

(19)(a) Su amigo { que / *quien / *el cual } siempre se callaba cuando
(b)
(c)
no debía, se sonreía enigmáticamente detrás de su abanico

(20)(a) Ella, { que / *quien / *la cual } no te da más que miradas
(b)
(c)
despreciativas, no parece tener mucho interés en conversar contigo

Another difference between Spanish and English relative clauses is that in English the complementizer can be deleted from certain relative constructions, but in Spanish it can never be deleted:[2]

(21)(a) Take more care in selecting the next person
(b) { that / Ø } you recommend for this job

(22)(a) Who were those people { that / Ø } you were
(b) talking with?

(23)(a) It pays you to take a long look at the guarantee { that / Ø } they offer you
(b)

Now compare (21) and (23) with (24) and (25) respectively:

(24)(a) Ten más cuidado en seleccionar la próxima persona { que / *Ø } recomiendes para este puesto
(b)

(25)(a) Te compensa mirar bien la garantía { que / *Ø }
(b) ofrecen

It is known that word order is somewhat more flexible in Spanish than in English. One of the consequences of this greater flexibility is that certain relative clauses may be ambiguous in Spanish, tho they are not ambiguous in English. For example, (26) below may be translated as either (27) or

(28):[3]

(26) la caja que contiene el paquete

(27) the box which contains the package

(28) the box which the package contains

(28), but not (27), could be expressed in Spanish by (29), as well as by (26):

(29) la caja que el paquete contiene.

(26) may be derived from (29) by a transformation which moves the subject of the relative clause to sentence final position. Obviously no such transformation exists in English, since there is no way in which (27) and (28) could be understood to be synonymous.

In English it is frequently the case that if the relative noun phrase is dominated by a prepositional phrase in underlying structure, in surface structure the preposition may either precede the relative form or it may occur in the same position in which it occurred in underlying structure. E.g. in the (a) examples below the preposition has been moved and precedes the relative form, while in the (b) examples the preposition occurs in the same position in which it occurred in underlying structure:

(30)(a) The diary, with which she wouldn't part for anything in the world, had already caused her a good deal of trouble

(b) The diary, which she wouldn't part with for anything in the world, ...

(31)(a) The question about which Armando knew the most did not appear on the exam

(b) The question which Armando knew the most about ...

But in Spanish the preposition must always precede the relative form. Compare (30, 31) with (32, 33) respectively:

(32)(a) El diario, del cual no se separaría por nada del mundo, ya le había causado muchos problemas

(b) *El diario, el cual no se separaría de por nada del mundo, ...

(33)(a) La cuestión de la que Armando sábía más no apareció en el examen

(b) *La cuestión que Armando sabía más de no apareció en el examen

While it is usually immediately obvious to the native speaker of English whether a certain relative form is grammatical or not when it occurs in a given string, in many instances such judgments are not at all easy to make in Spanish. The rules governing the use of relative forms in English could probably be summarized briefly and without controversy. However, the same is not true of the rules governing the use of the relative forms in Spanish. There seems to be no general agreement either among native speakers of Spanish or among grammarians of Spanish as to the rules concerning relative forms. A great portion of this thesis will be dedicated to an attempt to ascertain which are the relative forms which are directly generated by the grammar in Spanish. The answer to this question would be relatively straightforward if this were a thesis on relative construc-

tions in English, but it will soon be evident that the problem in Spanish is one of considerable complexity. To illustrate, judgments concerning the acceptability of the relative forms in the following English examples present no problems, and the generalizations concerning the use of English relative forms are easily formulated:

(34)(a) The men {who / *which / that} came from the north
(b)
(c)
had trouble adjusting to the heat

(35)(a) The men, {who / *which / *that} came from the north,
(b)
(c)
had trouble adjusting to the heat

From (34) it can be seen that who and that, but not which, occur in restrictive relative clauses not dominated by a prepositional phrase if the head is (+HUMAN) and (+IND). From (35) it can be seen that the appositive relative form which occurs with such heads is who.

(36)(a) The speech {*who / which / that} everyone ridiculed was
(b)
(c)
actually the most valuable part of the program

(37)(a) The speech, {*who / which / that} everyone ridiculed, was
(b)
(c)
actually the most valuable part of the program

From (36) it can be seen that both which and that occur in restrictive relatives not dominated by a preposition if the head is (-HUMAN) and (+IND). (37) shows that the appositive relative form which occurs with such heads must be which.

(38)(a) The evidence on {which / *that} she based her case
(b) was overwhelming

(39)(a) The evidence {which / that} she based her case on was
(b) overwhelming

It can be seen in (38) and (39) that if the preposition is fronted, only a (WH) relative form can occur.

(40)(a) They launched their attack by night, {which / *that}
(b) caught the opponents off guard

(40) shows that the only form which can occur in sentential relatives is which.

But judgments concerning the acceptability of the relative forms in some of the following Spanish examples may prove difficult. Consequently the rules of the grammar are considerably harder to discover. E.g., it seems clear enough that ART + cual is not equivalent to ART + que in sentences like these:

(41)(a) A su hijo le compró un triciclo, {el cual / ≠el que}
(b) el niño había admirado en el escaparate ayer

(42)(a) Ese gesto, {el cual / ≠el que} tú haces muy a menudo,
(b) resulta demasiado expresivo para mi gusto

ART + cual, not ART + que, is the relative form in sentences like (41) and (42). ART + que, tho grammatical, is not an appositive relative form here. But what about sentences like (43) and (44)? The difference between ART + cual and ART + que is no longer so clear:

(43)(a) Se despidió con ese gesto, con {el cual / el que} logró
(b) ofender a todos los que estaban presentes

(44)(a) El niño lloraba porque el triciclo, en {el cual / el que}
(b) montaba todos los días, estaba roto

What is the status of the relative forms in sentences like (45) and (46)?

(45)(a) La caja, {la cual / que} estaba llena de juguetes,
(b) era lo que más le fascinaba

(46)(a) Juan resbaló y se cayó encima de la caja,
(b) {la cual / ?que} estaba llena de juguetes

In (45) que may seem as good as la cual, or it may even seem preferable to some speakers, while in (46) que may seem odd. Yet in both sentences the appositive relative clause occurs after the same noun phrase, la caja, and in neither case is the appositive clause dominated by a preposition. The sentence underlying the appositive relative is the same in both (45) and (46)(la caja estaba llena de juguetes).

In considering sentences like (47) and (48), difficulty may once again be experienced in reaching judgments concerning the correct relative forms:

(47)(a) una caja en {la que / que} guardar sus juguetes
(b)

(48)(a) la oreja detrás de {la que / ?que} tiene un lunar
(b)

In (48) it seems that la que is preferable to que, but in (47) it is not so clear which form is preferable. However, both sentences contain restrictive relative forms which are

dominated by a preposition. Which form or forms is the grammar to generate in such cases?

With this introduction I hope to have given some idea of the complexity of the investigation of relative clauses in Spanish. Many of the problems to which I have alluded here are taken up in more detail later in the text. In some cases questions which seem complicated and confusing at first glance can be shown to be fairly easily resolved. But I do not mean to imply that I will provide definitive solutions to all of the questions I raise. In some cases the solutions I propose must be tentative, and some of my solutions I expect would not be convincing to all native speakers of Spanish. In yet other cases I can do no more than indicate a problem to which I can offer no solution at all at this time.

Footnotes to Introduction

1. However, lo cual does not occur exclusively in sentential relatives, as can be seen in the following examples:

   Los poetas hablan mucho de {"lo ideal" / "lo irreal" / "lo bello"}, lo cual es una noción abstracta.

2. The same is true when the complementizer occurs before a sentence which functions as the object of a verb. In English that can frequently delete, but in Spanish que never delete:

   (i) Kirby said that he was sorry

   (ii) Kirby dijo que lo sentía

   (iii) Kirby said he was sorry

   (iv) *Kirby dijo lo sentía

3. These sentences were called to my attention by Otero.

Chapter 1. Appositive and restrictive relative clauses

1.1. Appositive and restrictive relative clauses

In Spanish, as in English, there are two types of relative clauses, restrictive and appositive. In the following pairs, the (a) sentences contain restrictive relative clauses, while the (b) sentences contain appositive relative clauses:

(1)(a) Los mecánicos que cobran demasiado trabajan muy poco

'The mechanics that charge too much work very little'

(b) Los mecánicos, que cobran demasiado, trabajan muy poco

'The mechanics, who charge too much, work very little'

(2)(a) Los niños que se cepillaban los dientes con Crest tenían menos caries

'The children that brushed their teeth with Crest had fewer cavities'

(b) Los niños, que se cepillaban los dientes con Crest, tenían menos caries

'The children, who brushed their teeth with Crest, had fewer cavities'

(3)(a) Las plantas que no han sido regadas están secas

'The plants that haven't been watered are dry'

(b) Las plantas, que no han sido regadas, están secas

'The plants, which haven't been watered, are dry'

The restrictive clause, as its name suggests, serves to restrict or limit the reference of the noun with which it occurs. Thus in (1a) the relative clause que cobran demasiado serves to delimit a certain subset of mechanics, name-

ly, the ones who charge too much. (1a) could be paraphrased as follows:

(4) Algunos mecánicos cobran demasiado y trabajan muy poco

'Some mechanics charge too much and work very little'

The appositive, clause, on the other hand, does not restrict the reference of the noun it accompanies, but rather, it adds further information. Thus a sentence with an appositive relative clause can be paraphrased as a conjunction of two sentences. E.g. (1b) can be paraphrased as follows:

(5) (Todos) los mecánicos cobran demasiado, y (todos) los mecánicos trabajan muy poco

'(All) the mechanics charge too much, and (all) the mechanics work very little'

(5) and (1b) make two assertions about the entire set of mechanics under consideration: They charge too much, and they work very little. (1a) makes an assertion about a subset of mechanics, those who charge too much, namely, that they work very little.

Appositive clauses are distinguished from restrictive clauses in writing because they are set off by commas, and in speech they are set off by slight pauses and comma intonation.

The two types of relative clauses, appositives and restrictives, have not always been clearly distinguished by grammarians of Spanish. However, in the mid-19th century the distinction was made clearly by Andrés Bello:

> Las proposiciones ligadas a otras por medio de relativos, unas veces especifican y otras explican; a las primeras hemos llamado subordinadas, a las segundas, incidentes...El relativo que acarrea la proposición incidente hace en cierto modo el oficio de la conjunción y; y la proposición, no obstante el vínculo material que la enlaza con otra, pertenece a la clase de las independientes. (S. 1073)

> Entre las proposiciones enlazadas por el relativo, cuando una de ellas no hace más que explicar su antecedente, se hace siempre una pausa más perceptible que la que separa la proposición especificativa de la subordinante. (S. 1074 (b))

The two types of relative clauses exhibit different syntactic behavior:

A. Only appositive relatives can modify an entire sentence:

(6) Se acabó la fiesta, lo cual nos pareció bien

'The party ended, which seemed fine to us'

(i.e., que se hubiera acabado la fiesta nos pareció bien)

'that the party had ended seemed fine to us'

(7) La niña trepó el árbol, lo cual impresionó a su hermano

'The girl climbed the tree, which impressed her brother'

(i.e., que la niña trepara el árbol le impresionó a su hermano)

'that the girl climbed the tree impressed her brother'

(8) La batería está baja, por lo cual hay que cargarla

'The battery is rundown, on account of which it's necessary to charge it'

B. Only appositive relatives can have a personal pronoun as antecedent:

(9) Ellos, que llegaron tarde, tuvieron que colocarse al fondo del salón

'They, who arrived late, had to situate themselves at the back of the hall'

(10) *Ellos que llegaron tarde tuvieron que colocarse al fondo del salón

'*They who arrived late had to situate themselves at the back of the hall'

(11) Ella, que ha podido alzar la piedra, se casará con el príncipe

'She, who has been able to lift the stone, will marry the prince'

(12) *Ella que ha podido alzar la piedra se casará con el príncipe

'*She who has been able to lift the stone will marry the prince'

C. Only appositive relatives can have a proper noun as antecedent:

(13) Pablo, que al principio se oponía, después se puso de acuerdo

'Paul, who at the beginning was opposed, afterwards agreed'

(14) *Pablo que al principio se oponía después se puso de acuerdo

'*Paul who at the beginning was opposed afterwards agreed'

(15) Sólo Ana, que es muy alta, pudo tocar el techo

'Only Anna, who is very tall, was able to touch the ceiling'

(16) *Sólo Ana que es muy alta pudo tocar el techo

'*Only Anna who is very tall was able to touch the ceiling'

D. Only appositive relatives can have a possessive NP as antecedent:

(17) Acabo de ver a mi tío, que está de vacaciones aquí

'I just saw my uncle, who is on vacation here'

(18) *Acabo de ver a mi tío que está de vacaciones aquí

'*I just saw my uncle who is on vacation here'

(19) Sus opiniones, que antes no me convencían mucho, ahora me parecen más raras que nunca

'His opinions, which didn't convince me much before, now seem to me weirder than ever'

(20) *Sus opiniones que antes no me convencían mucho ahora me parecen más raras que nunca

'*His opinions which didn't convince me much before now seem to me weirder than ever'

(The explanation of (B, C, D) is discussed on pp. 20-21.)

E. The head noun of the relativized NP may optionally be present in surface structure in an appositive clause, but not in a restrictive clause:

(21) Los ejemplos, en los cuales (ejemplos) he pensado mucho, no dejan de confundirme

'The examples, which I have thought about a lot, don't cease to confuse me'

(22)(a) (b) Los ejemplos en los {cuales / que} (*ejemplos) he pensado mucho no dejan de confundirme

'The examples that I've thought about a lot don't cease to confuse me'

(The explanation for this difference is discussed in Chapter 4.)

F. Only restrictive relatives can have as their antecedent

NPs which contain certain quantifiers such as todo, algún, cualquier, etc.:

(23) Algunas comidas que son populares no son muy nutritivas

'Some foods that are popular aren't very nutritious'

(24) *Algunas comidas, que son populares, no son muy nutritivas

'*Some foods, which are popular, aren't very nutritious'

(25) Este texto será de interés para cualquier alumno que estudie español

'This text will be of interest for any student who studies Spanish'

(26) *Este texto será de interés para cualquier alumno, que estudie español

'*This text will be of interest for any student, who studies Spanish'

Further differences between appositive and restrictive relative clauses are reflected in the relative forms which can occur in both types of clauses. E.g., in some instances que is an acceptable relative form in both restrictive and appositive clauses not dominated by a PP, but ART + cual[1] is acceptable only in the latter case:

(27)(a) La cama {*la cual / que} era de Persia le gustó
(b) a Ana

'Anna liked the bed that was from Persia'

(28)(a) La cama, {la cual / que} era de Persia, le gustó
(b) a Ana

'Anna liked the bed, which was from Persia'

Both ART + que and ART + cual are sometimes acceptable after a preposition in both types of relative clauses. E.g.,

(29)(a) Se cayó la cama debajo de {la cual (*cama)} el
(b) {la que }
(c) {*que }
ladrón se había escondido

'The bed under which the thief had hidden fell down'

(30)(a) Se cayó la cama, debajo de {la cual (cama)} el
(b) {la que }
(c) {*que }
ladrón se había escondido

'The bed, under which the thief had hidden, fell down'

(The question of which relative forms are generated by the grammar in such cases is discussed later in this chapter.)

In sentences like (29,30) que is not acceptable after a preposition in either appositive or restrictive relative clauses, but in certain restrictive relatives que without the article does occur after a preposition:

(31)(a) No tengo lápiz con {*el cual} escribir
(b) {el que }
(c) {que }

.: I don't have pencil with which to write)

(The difference between que and ART + que in sentences like (31) is discussed in Chapter 4 .)

ART + cual is not acceptable in an appositive relative clause whose antecedent is a proper noun, a possessive NP, or a pronoun, but que is:

(32)(a) Ana, {*la cual} no había comido en tres días,
(b) {que }
se desmayó

'Anna, who had not eaten in three days, fainted'

(33)(a) Esa muchacha, {la cual / que} no había comido en tres
(b) días, se desmayó

'That girl, who had not eaten in three days, fainted'

(34)(a) Me presentó a su hermano, {*el cual / que} tenía
(b) cara de idiota

'He introduced me to his brother, who looked like an idiot'

(35) Me presentó a un hermano suyo que tenía cara de idiota

'He introduced me to a brother of his who looked like an idiot'

(36)(a) Ella, {*la cual / que} no había dormido en toda la
(b) noche, tenía mucho sueño

'She, who had not slept all night, was very sleepy'

(37)(a) Tú, {*el cual / que} llevas toda la tarde sin hacer
(b) nada, no debes quejarte

'You, who haven't done anything all afternoon, shouldn't complain'

(The reason for the unacceptability of ART + cual in such sentences is discussed in Section 1.5.)

It should be explained why restrictive relative clauses cannot occur with certain noun phrases, specifically, personal pronouns (9-12), proper nouns (13-16), and possessive noun phrases (17-20). It is said that proper nouns cannot occur with restrictive relative clauses because their referent is taken to be unique and thus cannot be further limited. This same explanation would also apply to the personal pro-

nouns. The same type of uniqueness seems to be attributed to nouns preceded by a possessive. Consider the following dialogues:

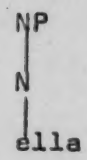
I. A: Se perdió un libro mío
'A book of mine got lost'
B: ¿Cuál (de ellos) se perdió?
'Which (one of them) got lost?'

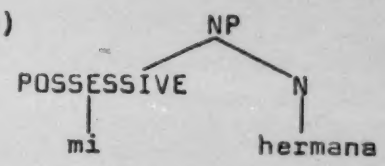
II. A: Se perdió mi libro
'My book got lost'
B: ¿Cuál (de ellos) se perdió?
'Which (of them) got lost?'

In dialogue I, B's response is perfectly natural. But in dialogue II, A seems to have just one unique book in mind, and he expects that B knows which book he is referring to. But B's response suggests that B doesn't know what A assumes he knows. (Another alternative is that B is being facetious.) In (I) the first speaker is referring to one book out of a context of various books; in (II), for the first speaker there is only one book in his universe of discourse.

It should be noted, then, that restrictive relative clauses cannot occur after NPs which are understood as unique. Note now that the structure of proper NPs, personal pronouns, and possessive NPs are approximately (38, 39, 40) respectively:

(38)

(39) 

(40) 

It can be seen that the structure of the NPs in question can be collapsed and expressed as (41):

(41) $[(\text{POSS})\ \ N]_{NP}$

An NP of the form (41), then, cannot be "modified" by a restrictive relative clause.

1.2. Underlying structure of appositive relative clauses

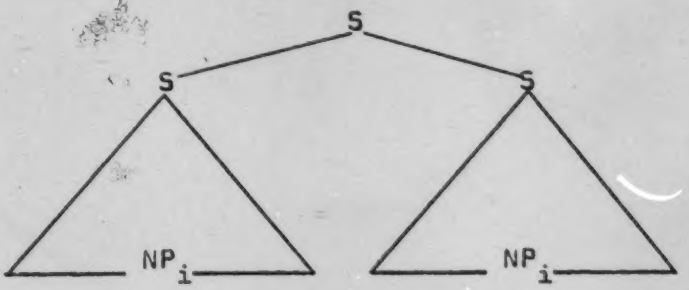
The following facts about appositive clauses are compatible with the idea that they come from a conjunction-like structure.[2]

(i) Appositive relative clauses can be paraphrased as two conjoined sentences.

(ii) In speech they are separated from the rest of the sentence by slight pauses, and they are spoken with sentence intonation.

(iii) They may have a proper noun, a pronoun, a possessive NP, or a sentence as antecedent.

The underlying structure which I will assume is as in (42):

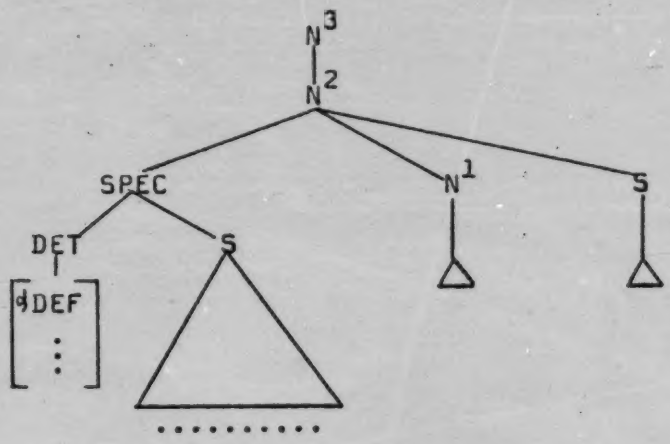
(42) 

I'll leave open the question of how the derived structure should be represented.

1.3. Underlying structure of restrictive relative clauses

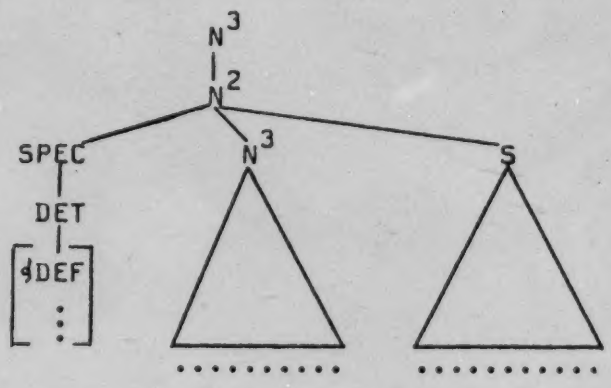
Following Vergnaud, the underlying structure I will assume for restrictive relative clauses is as in (43):

(43)



The relative clause S originates under the SPECIFIER and is later extraposed to the end of the NP. The relativized NP originates in the relative clause S and during the course of the derivation is promoted into the △ under N^1 in the matrix NP. The surface structure of a restrictive relative clause, then, is as in (44):

(44)



The justification for the choice of these structures and a more detailed discussion of the derivation of restrictive relatives occurs in Chapter 4. For the time being I will merely assume that these structures are correct, without further comment.

1.4. Relative cual

The word cual is acceptable in many relative clauses in Spanish. E.g.,

(45)(a) La cesta dentro de la {cual / que} (*cesta) llevaban
(b) el gatito

'The basket inside of which they were carrying the kitten'

(46) La cesta, dentro de la cual (cesta) llevaban el gatito, ...

'The basket, inside of which they were carrying the kitten, ...

Specifically, an appropriate form of cual, preceded by the appropriate form of the definite article, can occur in appositive relative clauses which do not occur after proper nouns, possessive noun phrases, or pronouns (see examples (30, 32-37). It is also sometimes acceptable after a preposition in restrictive relative clauses.

On the basis of form, it seems possible that cual is related to tal. Among the definitions of tal in the Real Academica Diccionario de la lengua española, the following appear:

4. Úsase también para determinar y contraer lo que no está especificado o distinguido, y suele repetirse para dar más viveza a la expresión. Haced TALES y TALES cosas y acertaréis.

5. Úsase a veces como pronombre demostrativo. TAL origen tuvo su ruina (este que se acaba de explicar); no conozco a TAL hombre (a ese de que antes se ha hablado); no haré yo TAL (eso o cosa tal). Empleado como neutro, equivale más determinadamente a cosa o cosa tal, y toma con mayor distinción carácter de substantivo en frases como ésta: Para destruir un pueblo, no hay TAL como dividirlo y corromperlo.

Puede construirse con el artículo determinado masculino o femenino. El tal o La tal, se acercó a mí (este hombre, o esa mujer, de que se ha hecho mención); el tal drama; la tal comedia (ese, o esa, de que se trata). (1238)

Bello makes the following observations about tal:[3]

Tal, significando identidad, se junta a menudo con el artículo: "El tal caballo ni come, ni duerme, ni gasta herraduras" (Cervantes). El tal es este de que se trata.

"Mire, señor, dijo Sancho, que aquí no hay encanto ni cosa que lo valga; que yo he visto por entre las verjas una uña de un león verdadero; y saco por ella que el tal león, cuya debe de ser la tal uña, es mayor que una montaña" (Cervantes); el tal es este, y la tal, esta.

"Qué dijera el señor Amadís si lo tal oyera?" (Cervantes): si eso oyera. (S. 342)

Bello goes on to suggest (S. 343) that cual is the relativized form of tal.

Semantically it seems quite reasonable for cual, the relativized form of tal, to occur in the deep structure of certain appositive relative clauses. El tal might be roughly translated as "the aforementioned." And the repeated noun in a relative clause of necessity refers back to a

previously occurring noun, if the underlying structure is well formed. It will be seen later (Chapter 4) that whenever the relative form is ART + cual, there is always understood to be identity of reference between the relative form and its antecedent.

I now turn to the question of the underlying structure of appositive relatives which contain cual. Cual cannot have replaced a noun phrase, since the article, and optionally the head noun, are present in surface structure.

Jackendoff (1968a, 428) has suggested that in English which is an article, as are other members of his Group II quantifiers (some, each, every, any, no, either, all, both, few). Obviously relative cual cannot be considered an article in Spanish, since an article must precede it in the relative clauses in which it occurs.

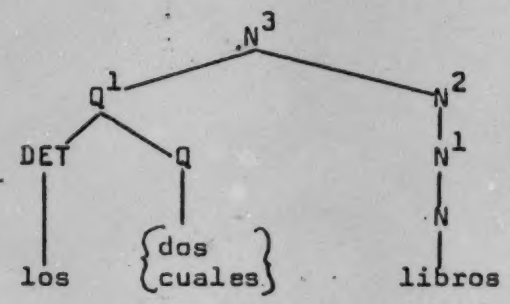
However, on the basis of the following paradigms (pointed out to me by Otero), it does seem possible to consider cual as a quantifier:

(47) los {dos / cuales} libros

(48) *los {cuales dos / dos cuales} libros

It can be seen in (48) that cual and dos art mutually exclusive, and dos is obviously a quantifier. I suggest then that the underlying structure of (47) may look like (49):[4]

(49)



1.5. ART + cual vs. que in appositive relatives not dominated by a PP

Recall that cual cannot occur in an appositive relative whose head is a proper noun, a personal pronoun, or a possessive NP. A possible explanation suggested by Otero for the ungrammaticality of cual in such sentences is that personal pronouns, proper nouns, and possessive NPs may have some property which is incompatible with cual and which prevents its occurrence in underlying structure. If the referents of proper nouns, personal pronouns, and possessive NPs are taken to be unique, this may have to do with their incompatability with cual. For cual is understood as picking out one of a set (e.g., ¿Cuál libro (cuál de los libros) quieres?), and it is not possible to pick out one of a set if the whole set has only one member.

Since el tal means roughly "the aforementioned," it would seem that this term should not occur with an NP which has a unique referent; if there is only one referent, there is no need to refer to it as "the aforementioned," as it

need not be distinguished from any other. The following sentences may be illuminating:

(50) Buscaba mis zapatillas, pero mis (*tales) zapatillas se habían perdido

'I was looking for my slippers, but my slippers had gotten lost'

(51) Nosotros queríamos ir al mitin, pero no dejaron que (*los tales) nosotros entráramos

'We wanted to go to the meeting, but they didn't allow us to enter'

As can be seen from the examples, tal may not occur with possessive NPs or with personal pronouns. Now consider (52):

(52) Hablaban de una Luisa y, a juzgar por lo que decían, la tal Luisa es de mucho cuidado

'They were talking about a Luisa and, to judge by what they were saying, that Luisa (the aforementioned Luisa, said Luisa) is someone to watch out for'

In a sentence like (52) tal is grammatical.[5] But in such instances the noun in question is being used as a common noun. (For the same reason the indefinite article una is grammatical before Luisa in the first conjunct.) So the generalization that tal/cual is incompatible with proper nouns can be maintained.

I have noted that in some cases it is acceptable for an appositive relative clause to begin with either ART + cual or que. E.g. in (28), repeated here as (53), either form seems acceptable:

(53)(a) (b) La cama, {la cual / que} era de Persia, le gustó a Ana

There are other sentences in which for some reason ART + cual seems preferable to que, at least to some speakers:

(54)(a) Juan se dirigió a un policía, { el cual / ?*que }
(b) le informó

'John addressed himself to a policeman, who informed him'

(55)(a) Juan lanzó un grito, { el cual / ?que } se oyó por
(b) todo el barrio

'John sent up a shout, which was heard thru all the neighborhood'

In still other sentences que seems preferable to ART + cual:

(56)(a) Un minuto, { ?*el cual / que } fue un siglo, transcurrió
(b) en silencio

'One minute, which was a century, went by in silence'

(57)(a) El estudiante, { ?el cual / que } no había comido en
(b) semanas, tuvo que dar todo su dinero al banquero

'The student, who hadn't eaten in several weeks, had to give all his money to the banker'

Altho the matter needs further investigation and I cannot hope to explain it fully here, it may be that ART + cual is more likely to occur when there is more than one NP to the left of the relative clause. In connection with this, Bello's observations about the following example are of interest:

(58) "Aparece con toda claridad establecido desde entonces el gusto a esa clase de diversiones" (dramáticas); "el cual continuó luego sin interrupción y con creces, como se echa de ver

a cada paso, registrando las obras subsiguientes de aquellos rudos tiempos" (M. de la Rosa)

According to Bello,

> El cual es la forma relativa que mejor se adapta a las circunstancias, porque señalándose con ella número singular y género masculino, no vacila el entendimiento entre los sustantivos gusto, clase, y diversiones, y reconoce por antecedente el primero, aunque es el más distante de los tres. (S. 1077)

If the generalization that ART + cual, rather than que, is more likely to occur when there is more than one NP to the left of the relative is correct, it would be difficult to incorporate this into the rules of the grammar. The matter of "preference" appears to belong rather to the realm of performance. But how are such sentences to be handled by the grammar? Which form is the grammar to generate in appositive relatives, que or ART + cual?

It seems important to note at this time that there are appositive relatives in which only ART + cual, not que, can occur. Specifically, only ART + cual can occur in most sentential relatives:[6]

(59)(a) Juan blasfemó, { lo cual / *que } fue la causa de su
(b) encarcelamiento

'John blasfemed, which was the cause of his incarceration'

This may suggest that cual occurs obligatorily in the deep structure of all appositive relatives, except those which occur with proper nouns, possessives, and personal pronouns. Tho there are cases in which que is acceptable or even

preferable in surface structure, it may be undesirable to formulate a transformation which would replace ART + cual with que in appositive relatives which are not dominated by a prepositional phrase, since there are some instances in which such a transformation can never apply (e.g., (59), and other cases in which que does not seem acceptable (e.g., (54, 55)).

The fact that que does occur frequently in appositive relatives which are not dominated by a prepositional phrase and that it may be highly acceptable in some such sentences need not necessarily indicate that these sentences should be directly generated by the grammar. I think it will become clear during the course of this discussion that there is much confusion as to the use of relative forms. Since there are appositives which are not dominated by a prepositional phrase in which only que, not ART + cual, can occur (i.e., after proper nouns, possessive nouns, and personal pronouns), this may contribute to the confusion and may be one of the factors which would make que seem acceptable in sentences like (53, 56, 57).

1.6. ART + que vs. ART + cual and que in appositive relative clauses not dominated by a PP

In this section I will examine the frequent assertion that in certain circumstances (in appositive relative clauses, and in restrictive relatives after a preposition) the form

ART + cual is equivalent to ART + que. Ramsey writes,

> The two do not differ in meaning, and may be used as subject or object relating either to persons or things; but el cual belongs rather to a studied or oratorical, and el que to a more off-hand style--just the difference between which and that in English. (S. 10.14)

The idea that the two are equivalent is also expressed by Cressey (1968).

Bello's observations on the use of ART + que are of interest here:

> Las expresiones el que, la que, los que, las que, lo que, se deben considerar unas veces como compuestas de dos palabras distintas, y otras como equivalentes a una sola palabra.
>
> En el primer caso el artículo está sustantivado y sirve de antecedente al relativo: "Los que no moderan sus pasiones son arrastrados a lamentables precipicios:" los es los hombres, antecedente de que y sujeto de son, [y se prefiere esta forma abreviada a la íntegra ellos, porque la proposición que sigue especifica. "Lo que agrada seduce:" lo (sustantivo, porque de suyo envuelve la idea de cosa o cosas) es antecedente de que y sujeto de seduce: se dice lo, no ello, por causa de la proposición especificativa que sigue.] Siempre que las expresiones dichas se componen verdaderamente de dos palabras distintas, el artículo pertenece a una proposición y el relativo a otra.
>
> En el segundo caso el artículo no es más que una forma del relativo, por medio de la cual se determina si es sustantivo o adjetivo, y cuál es, en cuanto adjetivo, su género y número. "La relación de las aventuras de D. Quijote de la Mancha, escrita por Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, en la que los lectores vulgares sólo ven un asunto de entretenimiento, es un libro moral de los más notables que ha producido el ingenio humano" (Clemencín). El la de la que no hace más que dar una forma femenina y singular al que: la y que son un solo elemento gramatical, un relativo que pertenece todo entero a la proposición incidente,

> donde sirve de término a la preposición en; y el antecedente de este relativo es la relación, con que la frase verbal es un libro etc., a la cual sirve de sujeto, compone la proposición principal. (S. 323-325)

> Tenemos por consiguiente dos modos de variar la forma del relativo que, adaptándola a los diversos géneros y números: el primero ... consiste en anteponer el artículo; el segundo, en combinar el artículo con el relativo de cualidad (i.e., cual). (S. 346)

If ART + que is equivalent to ART + cual in appositive relative clauses, the following sentences should be equivalent:

(60)(a) Entre la muchedumbre reconocimos al criado, {el cual / ?que} llevaba un gorro de lana

(b)

'Among the crowd we recognized the servant, who was wearing a woolen cap'

(61) Entre la muchedumbre reconocimos al criado, el que llevaba un gorro de lana

'Among the crowd we recognized the servant, the {one / guy} who was wearing a woolen cap'

(62)(a) Carmen me presentó a su marido {?el cual / que} era

(b)

de Persia

'Carmen introduced me to her husband, who was from Persia'

(63) Carmen me presentó a su marido, el que era de Persia

'Carmen introduced me to her husband, the {one / guy} who was from Persia'

(64)(a) Juan siempre piensa antes de hablar, {lo cual / *que}

(b)

nunca resulta mal

'John always thinks before speaking, which

never turns out badly'

(65) Juan siempre piensa antes de hablar, lo que nunca resulta mal

'John always thinks before speaking, {something / a thing} which never turns out badly'

It can be seen that the sentences with ART + cual and those with ART + que are not synonymous. E.g., compare (62) and (63). While the relative clause in (62) simply adds more information about the husband, in (63) it seems to set him off from some other individuals.

This sometimes subtle difference between the meaning of ART + que and ART + cual did not escape Bello's attention. Even tho the following quotation is from a section entitled "Uso de los relativos sinónimos," he clearly did not believe them to be synonymous in all cases:

> "Este carácter conservaron casi todos los historiadores de la antigüedad; los cuales, con descripciones pomposas, con arengas estudiadas, procuraban dar a la historia un tono poético de que en estos últimos tiempos se ha despojado" (Gil y Zarate). Otros hubieran dicho los que; a mi parecer menos bien: los que, sustituído a los cuales, ofrecería, aunque no fuese más que momentáneamente, un sentido algo ambiguo, por la doble significación de aquella frase en que ... el artículo puede ser o una mera forma del relativo o su antecedente.... (S. 1075)

It is worth noting that Bello goes on to refer to the use of el que in the sense of el cual as a "práctica modernísima que ... no carece de inconveniente." (S. 1077)

However, even the ART + que is not equivalent to ART + cual, clearly there are surface strings which contain appositive relative clauses which begin with ART + que

and which the grammar must account for (e.g., (61, 63, 65). A possible explanation is that such sentences derive by way of Relative Reduction, a rule which under certain circumstances can delete the relative form ART + cual (or the complementizer que, depending on which occurs) and the immediately following form of ser. If this explanation is correct, (66, 67, 68) would be the respective sources for (61, 63, 65):

(66) Entre la muchedumbre reconocimos al criado, {el cual / que} era el que llevaba un gorro

'Among the crowd, we recognized the servant, who was the {one / guy} that was wearing a woolen hat'

(67) Carmen me presentó a su marido, que era el que era de Persia

'Carmen introduced me to her husband, who was the {one / guy} that was from Persia'

(68) Juan piensa siempre antes de hablar, {lo cual / que} es es lo que nunca resulta mal

'John always thinks before speaking, which is something that never turns out badly'

The difference in meaning between sentences (60, 61), (62, 63) and (64, 65) suggests that ART + cual and ART + que are not equivalent; so does the fact that the two cannot occur interchangeably. Note that if ART + que is substituted for ART + cual in sentences like (64-66), the result is ungrammatical in every case:

(69) *Entre la muchedumbre, reconocimos al criado, el que era el que llevaba un gorro de lana

(70) *Carmen me presentó a su marido, el que era el que era de Persia

(71) *Juan piensa siempre antes de hablar, lo que es lo que nunca resulta mal

In (66-68) ART + cual can occur, but ART + que cannot be substituted for it. In (72) ART + que can occur, but when ART + cual is substituted the resultant sentence, (73), is ungrammatical:

(72) Sacaron a la fuerza a un señor, el que se había quejado más

'They forcibly removed a man, the {one / guy} who had complained the most'

(73) *Sacaron a la fuerza a un señor, el cual se había quejado más

'They forcibly removed a man, who had complained the most

As has been noted above, in sentences like (72) ART + que seems to set the head NP off from others in a group. I take (72) to derive from (74) by way of Relative Reduction:

(74) Sacaron a la fuerza a un señor, el cual era el que se había quejado más

'They forcibly removed a man, who was the {one / guy} who had complained the most'

The explanation for the strangeness of (73) is not clear to me,[8] but the point I wish to make here is that in the light of examples like these, ART + cual and ART + que cannot be said to be interchangeable.

Therefore I would conclude that ART + cual and ART + que are not equivalent when they occur in appositive relative clauses not dominated by a prepositional phrase. ART + cual is the appositive relative form, while

ART + que is a free relative. Appositive relative clauses which begin with ART + que in surface structure should be derived by Relative Reduction.

Recall that ART + cual cannot occur after the personal pronouns. However, both que and ART + que can. If the head of the clause is a first or second person singular personal pronoun there are syntactic differences as well as semantic ones:

(75)(a) Yo, que {me porté / *se portó} bien, pude salir temprano
(b)

'I, who {behaved myself / *behaved himself}, was able to leave early'

(76)(a) Yo, la que {*me porté / se portó} bien, pude salir temprano
(b)

'I, the one who {*behaved myself / behaved himself}, was able to leave early'

(77)(a) Tú, que la {conoces / *conoce} bien, crees que es culpable
(b)

'You, who {know / *knows} her well, believe that she is guilty'

(78)(a) Tú, el que la {*conoces / conoce} bien, crees que es
(b)

culpable

'You, the one who {knows / *know} her well, believe that she is guilty'

As is shown in the examples, when the antecedent is the first or second person singular pronoun, if the relative clause begins with que, the verb in the clause, as well as the

reflexive pronoun if there is one, must agree in person and number with that of the head noun, but if the relative clause begins with ART + que, the verb and reflexive pronoun must be in third person.

Again I would suggest that sentences like (76b, 78b) be derived by Relative Reduction. Their sources would be (79) and (80) respectively:

(79) Yo, que soy la que se portó bien, pude salir temprano

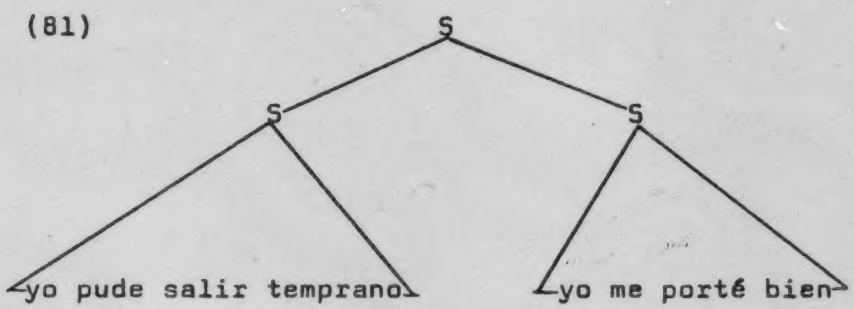
'I, who am the one who behaved himself, was able to leave early'

(80) Tú, que eres el que la conoce bien, crees que es culpable

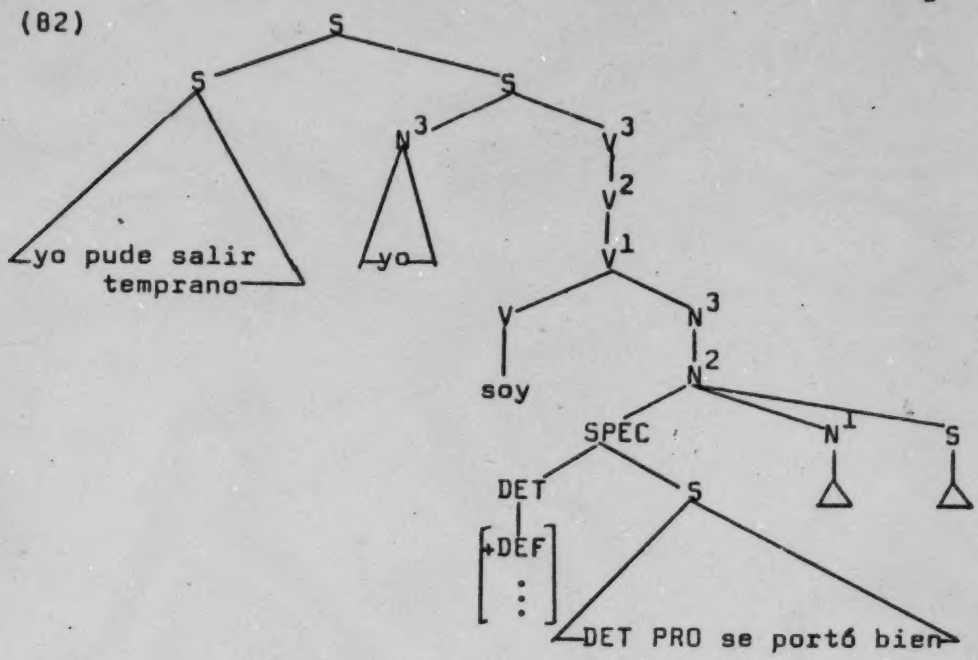
'You, who are the one who knows her well, believe that she is guilty'

The approximate underlying structures for (75a) and (76b, 79) are represented as (81) and (82) respectively:

(81)



(82)



Such underlying structures would explain why the verb and the reflexive pronoun in the relative clause in (75a) are the first person forms, me porté, since the underlying subject is yo; while in (76b) the verb and the reflexive pronoun are the third person PRO.[9] So this suggests that ART + que and que are not equivalent in appositive clauses, just as ART + que and ART + cual are not.

I think it must be concluded that ART + que is not equivalent to either ART + cual or que. The reasons which have been presented in this section can be summarized as follows:

(i) The forms differ semantically. ART + cual and que are best translated as who when the antecedent is (+HUMAN) and as which when it is (-HUMAN). El (la) que is best translated as the one that, los (las) que as the ones that, and lo que as something that.

(ii) Neither que and ART + que, nor ART + cual and ART + que are interchangeable.

(iii) In certain instances the forms of the verb and of the reflexive pronoun which occur after que are different from those which occur after ART + que.

1.7. Relative forms in restrictive clauses dominated by a PP

It has been noted that the form ART + que sometimes functions as a relative form which may seem similar to ART + cual, and at other times the article of ART + que pertains to some deleted noun and the que is a complementizer which introduces a relative clause. The idea that ART + que and ART + cual are equivalent in appositive relative clauses has been refuted in the preceding section.

In the following examples the underlined article pertains to a noun which has no surface realization, and the que introduces a relative clause:

(83) Los que comieron la sopa se pusieron enfermos

'The ones who ate the soup got sick'

(84) La que pintó la casa no vive en ella

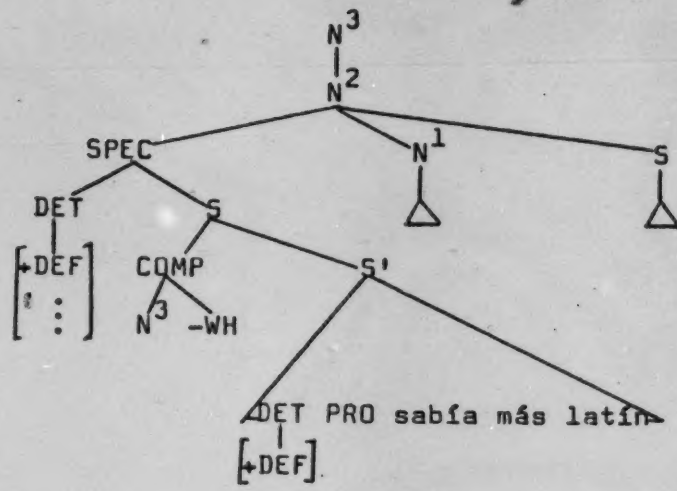
'The one who painted the house doesn't live in it'

(85) Juan preguntó por el que sabía más latín

'John asked about the one who knew the most Latin'

Examples (83-85) are cases of headless relatives. E.g. the underlying structure for the NP el que sabía más latín, which occurs in (85), can be represented approximately as (86):

(86)



In the following sentences ART + que is the restrictive relative form which occurs after a preposition:

(87)(a) Fuimos a ver la película de {la / ?Ø} que todo el
(b) mundo hablaba

'We went to see the movie which everyone was talking about'

(88)(a) No conocemos la ciudad en {la / ?Ø} que nació
(b)

'We aren't acquainted with the city in which he was born'

(89)(a) El problema {del / ?de} que me enteré no tiene
(b) solución

'The problem which I found out about doesn't have a solution'

In what follows I will attempt to account for sentences like (87-89).

As can be seen in (87-89), que may sometimes seem acceptable in restrictive relatives which begin with a preposition. However, in sentences like these que probably

should not be directly generated by the grammar. Compare (90) and (91), where the difference is more evident:[10]

(90) El hecho del que hablamos demuestra que somos humanos

(91) El hecho de que hablamos demuestra que somos humanos

(90) and (91) could be translated as (92) and (93) respectively:

(92) 'The fact which we're talking about shows that we're humans'

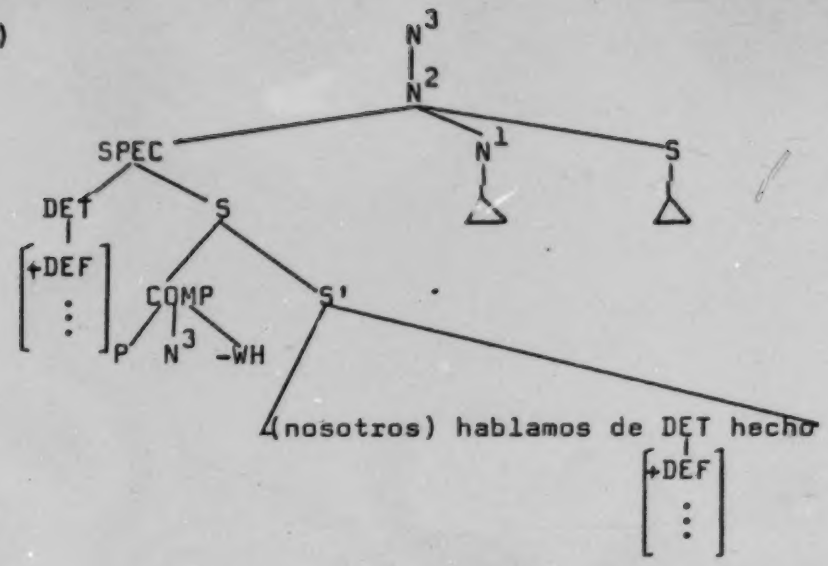
(93) 'The fact that we talk shows that we're humans'

Note that in such sentences the restrictive relative form after a preposition must be ART + que, not just que, in order for the dependent sentence to be understood as a relative clause. Besides being unintuitive, it would be a complication of the grammar to state that the restrictive relative form after a preposition must be ART + que just in case the head noun is one like hecho, i.e., one which admits the possibility of ambiguity, and otherwise it can be either que or ART + que. I believe rather that the correct solution is to generate only ART + que after a preposition in sentences like (87-89), as well as in sentences like (90).

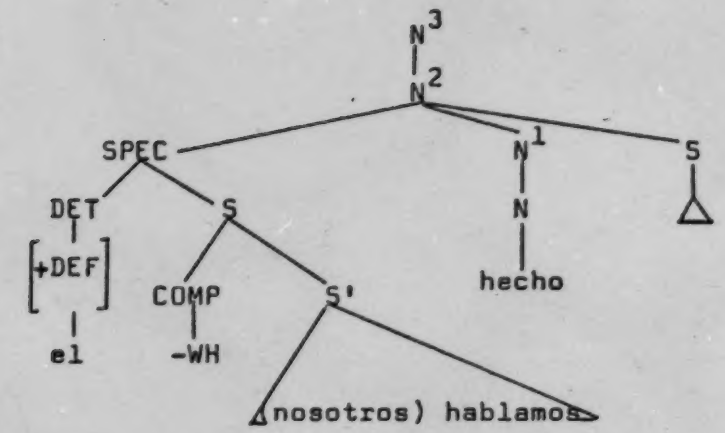
The underlying structure of (90) could be represented approximately as (96). Tho the matter needs further investigation, a possible underlying structure for (91) may be (97):

(There is no (94, 95).)

(96)



(97)



The S under SPEC would be extraposed during the derivation of both sentences. The de of (91) (el hecho de que hablamos) would be transformationally inserted.

The question I wish to consider now is the status of ART + que and ART + cual in restrictive relative clauses dominated by a prepositional phrase. It should be emphasized from the start that it is often difficult to elicit clear judgments as to which form, ART + que or ART + cual, is

preferable. E.g., for at least some speakers, (98a) may seem preferable to (98b):

(98)(a) El espíritu según el {cual / que} está concebido
(b)

'The spirit in which it is conceived'

But in the following examples, the (b) sentences may seem preferable:

(99)(a) Aquello de lo {?cual / que} hablaban no me interesó
(b)

'That which they were talking about didn't interest me'

(100)(a) La cuestión a la {?cual / que} yo me dirijo
(b)

'The question to which I address myself'

(101)(a) La hucha en la {?cual / que} guardan su dinero
(b)

'The bank in which they keep their money'

It would be easy to allow for the derivation of ART + que from ART + cual after a preposition, if it is true that ART + cual and ART + que are actually equivalent in restrictive relatives which are dominated by a PP. If cual occurred in the underlying structure of restrictive relatives (as I believe it does in the underlying structure of appositives), the rules could delete simply cual, then insert que. This would allow for the derivation of the (b) sentences from the (a) sentences in the following examples:

(102)(a) Un asunto del {cual / que} todos hablaban
(b)

'A matter which everyone was talking about'

(103)(a) El sillón en el {cual / que} estaba sentado
(b)

'The chair in which he was seated'

But to allow such rules might be ill-advised, in light of the evidence that ART + cual and ART + que are not equivalent in appositive relatives. Since such rules could not operate in appositive clauses, the rule would have to "know" if it was operating within an appositive or a restrictive relative clause.

The observations of the Spanish Academy in connection with this question are of interest here:

> Como el relativo que es proclítico y lo son también las preposiciones ... [no se emplea] ART + que cuando lo haya de preceder una preposición bisílaba o locución equivalente a una preposición, porque entonces el acento de éstas no tiene donde apoyarse, y así no decimos por debajo DE LA QUE; por encima DEL QUE, sino por debajo DE LA CUAL; por encima DEL CUAL.
>
> También se suele emplearse el cual por el que en esta clase de relativas después de las preposiciones monosílabas por, sin, tras ... (362 (a,b))

If, as the Academy suggests, the acceptability of ART + cual and ART + que in restrictive relatives after a preposition has to do with the length of the preposition involved and with conditions of stress, this may be part of the grammar. Rather, it may involve performance.

In sentences like (98-103) many speakers might accept either ART + cual or ART + que. But in other restrictive relative constructions dominated by a preposition only ART + que can occur:

(104)(a) Juan no sabe en lo {*cual / que} se ha metido
(b)

'John doesn't know what he's gotten himself into'

And in others que without the article, but never cual, can occur:

(105)(a) No tengo lápiz con {*cual / que} escribir
(b)

(lit.: I don't have pencil with which to write)

(106)(a) No tenía de {*cual / que} vivir
(b)

(lit.: He didn't have from which to live)
(roughly: 'He didn't have anything to live off of')

(The constructions involved in (104-106) will be discussed in more detail in later chapters.)

Therefore I would tentatively suggest that the grammar should generate only que or ART + que (the circumstances of the occurrence of each yet to be specified) after a preposition in restrictive relative clauses because of the above mentioned facts, which are summarized as follows:

(i) In certain types of restrictive relatives cual can never occur; only (ART)+ que can occur (see (104-105)).

(ii) Only que, not cual, occurs in restrictive relatives which are not dominated by a preposition. (Unlike appositive relatives, in which ART + cual is generally a possibility,[11] and sometimes the only acceptable alternative.)

(iii) In the instances of restrictive relatives dominated by a preposition in which ART + cual seems preferable to ART + que, it is fairly clear that this preference is due to conditions of stress, and it might not be part of the grammar, although it is found in performance.

(iv) The fact that ART + cual and ART + que are not equivalent elsewhere in the grammar, e.g., in appositive relative clauses, may suggest that they should not be equivalent here, either.

If these conclusions are correct, restrictive relative clauses, unlike appositives, will never contain cual in their underlying structure. However, it should be kept in mind that in speech there are sentences in which ART + cual seems quite acceptable, occasionally even preferable, in a restrictive relative dominated by a PP, for reasons which I've just discussed. I would suggest that such sentences, tho they may be highly acceptable, may not be directly generated by the grammar.

1.8. Relative forms in appositive clauses dominated by a PP

(+HUMAN) PRONOUNS AND (+HUMAN) PROPER NOUNS

The question I will now consider is, what is the relative form which occurs after a preposition in an appositive clause whose head is a (+HUMAN) pronoun or a (+HUMAN) proper noun? Consider the following sentences:

(+HUMAN) PRONOUNS:

(107)(a) Yo, por *el cual
(b) el que
(c) quien
todos preguntaban, me había escapado

'I, who everyone was asking for, had escaped'

(108)(a) Ellos, para *los cuales
(b) los que
(c) quienes
hice el favor, me lo agradecieron

'They, for whom I did the favor, thanked me for it'

(109)(a) Nosotros, sin *los cuales
(b) los que
(c) quienes
no podrían hacer la fiesta,...

'We, without whom they couldn't have the party,...'

(+HUMAN) PROPER NOUNS:

(110)(a) Juan, con ?el cual
(b) el que
(c) quien
todos contábamos,...

'John, who we were all counting on,...'

(111)(a) Tomás, para ?el cual
(b) el que
(c) quien
trabajan veinte personas,...

'Thomas, for whom twenty persons work,...'

ART + cual after a preposition is clearly ungrammatical in appositive relatives after a personal pronoun. The strangeness of ART + cual after a proper noun is also consistent with the idea that cual is incompatible with proper nouns, as well as personal pronouns, and should not be generated with either.

It seems that the relativized form of both (+HUMAN) proper nouns and personal pronouns when they are the object of a preposition is quien(es). But if quien is taken as the relativized form of proper nouns and personal pronouns which are dominated by a prepositional phrase, an explanation is still needed for the (b) sentences of (107-111), i.e., the ones with ART + que after the preposition, all of which seem to be acceptable.

It could appear that they derive by Relative Reduction, as I have suggested for sentences in which an appositive clause which is not dominated by a preposition begins with ART + que in surface structure (see Section 1.6). But if this were the case, we would expect that the (b) and (c) members of sentences like (107-111) would have different translations. E.g., (107b) and (107c) should be translated as (112a) and (112b) respectively:

(112)(a) 'I, the one everyone was asking for, ...'

(b) 'I, who everyone was asking for, ...'

However, it is extremely difficult to elicit clear judgments with respect to these sentences. If the (b) and (c) members mean different things, the difference is not immediately evident (tho it is in the cases in which the appositive relative is not dominated by a PP, as was discussed in Section 1.6.)

If the (b) sentences of (107-111) had been derived by Relative Reduction, the following sentences would be their

respective sources:

(113) Yo, (*que soy) por el que todos preguntaban, ...

(114) Ellos, (*que son) para los que hice el favor, ...

(115) Nosotros, (*que somos) sin los que no podrían hacer la fiesta, ...

(116) Juan, (*que es) con el que todos contábamos, ...

(117) Tomás, (*que es) para el que trabajan veinte personas, ...

Since (113-117) are ungrammatical, it seems that if the (b) sentences of (107-111) had been derived by Relative Reduction, the rule would have had to apply obligatorily in such cases. This would be undesirable, since it is generally suggested that this is an optional rule. Furthermore, if it is assumed that the (b) sentences of (107-111) do not derive by Relative Reduction, this would be consistent with the fact that they do not seem to differ semantically from the (c) sentences in the way that would otherwise be expected.

There is evidence that in other parts of the grammar ART + que and quien(es) are not interchangeable (e.g., in free relatives, as will be discussed in Chapter 2), so I would hesitate to suggest that they may be in these cases (i.e., in an appositive relative which is dominated by a PP and whose antecedent is a (+HUMAN) personal pronoun or proper noun). However, I am unable at present to provide a satisfactory explanation for the source and status of ART + que in sentences like the (b) members of (107-111).

The question of which are the correct relative forms after a preposition in appositive clauses is further complicated by sentences like the following:

POSSESSIVE NPS:

(118)(a) Mi libro, debajo del {cual / que} había escondido
(b) la carta, ...

'My book, under which I had hidden the letter, ...'

(119)(a) Tu cepillo de dientes, con el {cual / que} he
(b) fregado el lavabo, ...

'Your toothbrush, with which I have scrubbed the washbasin, ...'

"OTHER" NPS:

(120)(a) El puente, bajo el {cual / que} solíamos jugar, ...
(b)

'The bridge, under which we used to play,...'

(121)(a) Ese disco, al {cual / que} le han dado el premio,...'
(b)

'That record, to which they've given the prize, ...'

(122)(a) Ha perdido la confianza del pueblo, sin
la {cual / que} no podrá gobernar
(b)

'He has lost the confidence of the people, without which he won't be able to govern'

I've argued that in appositive clauses which are not dominated by a PP, ART + cual and ART + que cannot be equivalent; yet in (118-122) it is not clear that there is any semantic difference.

I have also suggested that cual should not occur in

appositives whose antecedent is a possessive NP. E.g.

(123)(a) Mi libro, {*el cual / que} tapaba la carta, ...
(b)

'My book, which was covering up the letter,...'

(124)(a) Tu cepillo, {*el cual / que} he usado para fregar el
(b) lavabo, ...'

'Your toothbrush, which I've used to scrub the washbasin, ...'

Yet in sentences like (118, 119), in which the appositive clause is dominated by a PP, ART + cual seems acceptable.

It would be a most questionable move to allow cual to occur in the deep structure of a relativized possessive NP only on the condition that it be dominated by a PP. Furthermore, tho I've argued that when ART + que occurs in appositive relatives which are not dominated by a PP, it derives by Relative Reduction, this does not seem to be a possibility in sentences like (118, 119). Note the ungrammaticality of the sentences which would have to be the sources:

(125) Mi libro, (*que es) debajo del que había escondido la carta, ...

(126) Tu cepillo de dientes, (*que es) con el que he fregado el lavabo, ...

I would suggest, in light of sentences like (123, 124), that the grammar not generate ART + cual after a preposition in appositive relatives whose antecedent is a possessive NP, even tho it may be highly acceptable in speech. I believe that the form which the grammar should generate in such cases is ART + que.

Turning now to the question raised by the acceptability of ART + que in (120-122), recall that in appositive relatives which are not dominated by a preposition I have shown that ART + cual and ART + que are not equivalent, and that only ART + cual is the appositive relative form. But in (120-122) there appears to be no discernible semantic difference between the (a) and the (b) sentences. The possibility of the (b) sentences deriving by Relative Reduction once again seems to be ruled out by the unacceptability of the strings which would have had to be the sources:

(127) El puente, (*el cual es) bajo el que solíamos jugar, ...

(128) Ese disco, (*el cual es) al que le han dado el premio, ...

(129) Ha perdido la confianza del pueblo, (*la cual es) sin la que no podrá gobernar

The unacceptability of (127-129) may explain why the (b) sentences of (120-122) are not perceived as differing semantically from the (a) sentences. However, since when no preposition is present the grammar must not allow ART + cual to be replaced by ART + que, it might seem unwise to allow it to do so here, either. Recall also that I've suggested that in appositive relatives whose antecedent is neither a proper noun, nor a personal pronoun, nor a possessive NP, the grammar should generate only ART + cual when the relativized NP is not dominated by a preposition. However, the question of the status of ART + que in sentences like (120-122) is unclear to me.

In concluding this section, I would point out that the presence of a preposition before an appositive relative form seems to considerably obscure the question of which relative forms should be generated by the grammar. E.g., altho it seems fairly clear that ART + cual cannot occur when the antecedent is a possessive NP (see 123, 124), both ART + que and ART + cual seem acceptable in such cases when the appositive clause is dominated by a PP (see (118, 119)). Nevertheless it seems reasonable to suggest that ART + cual should not be directly generated in such sentences.

Tho ART + cual (or que) and ART + que have been seen to be nonequivalent in appositive relatives not dominated by a PP, when a preposition is present the difference between the two is obscured in sentences like (120-122). In such sentences, as well as in sentences in which the antecedent is a (+HUMAN) proper noun or pronoun, I reserve judgment as to the status of ART + que.

The use in speech of both ART + que and ART + cual after a preposition in restrictive relatives has already been mentioned, tho I have suggested that cual not be generated in restrictive clauses. I have also mentioned that not all Spanish grammarians distinguish clearly between appositive and restrictive relative clauses, so it seems safe to assume that many speakers do not always grasp the distinction either. Thus the frequent acceptance of either ART + que or ART + cual after a preposition in appositive relatives

in speech may be reinforced by the usage of the two forms in restrictive relatives after a preposition, and vice versa. It should also be noted that the difference in stress between cual and que (only cual can be stressed) may also contribute to substitution of cual for que in some cases in which rhythm is important (e.g., in verse).

The trend towards this confusion in the use of relative forms may be fairly recent in the history of the language, if Bello is correct when he states the following:

> Antes era rarísimo el uso de el que, la que en el sentido de el cual, la cual; a no ser en el género neutro, como en estos pasajes de Cervantes: "Temo (dijo el italiano) que por ser mis desgracias tantas y tan extraordinarias no me habéis de dar crédito alguno. A lo que respondió Periandro," etc. "El capitán acudió a ver la balsa y quiso acompañarle a Periandro; de lo que fue muy contento" (el mismo). (S. 327)

The following chart summarizes the view of the appositive relative forms which I have presented up to now. (The question mark after certain forms indicates that they are acceptable, but that I have left open the question of how they are to be accounted for.)

I. APPOSITIVE RELATIVES

	RELATIVE FORM		ANTECEDENT
	AFTER A PREP	ELSEWHERE	
A.	quien(es)	que	(+HUMAN) proper noun or (+HUMAN) pronoun
	ART + que (?)		
B.	ART + que	que	possessive NPs
C.	ART + cual	ART + que	other NPs
	ART + que (?)		

To complete the summary of this chapter, I repeat in II the forms which I have suggested the grammar generate in restrictive relatives:

II. RESTRICTIVE RELATIVES

RELATIVE FORM	
AFTER A PREP	ELSEWHERE
ART + que	que

Footnotes to Chapter 1

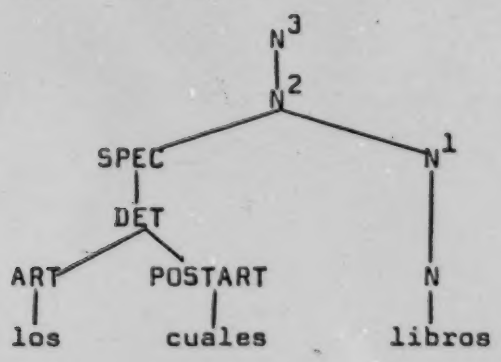
1. By ART I mean a form of the "l" articles, i.e., el, la, los, las.

2. Bello seems to be hinting at this when he writes:

> El relativo que acarrea la proposición incidente hace en cierto modo el oficio de la conjunción y; y la proposición, no obstante el vínculo material que la enlaza con otra, pertenece a la clase de las independientes: así es que en ella las formas del verbo (a lo menos del verbo principal, si hay más de uno) son las que convienen a las proposiciones independientes. (S. 1073(a))

3. It should be noted in passing that Bello apparently felt obliged to gloss these expressions with tal for his readers. The first edition of this work was published in 1847, but it seems that even at that date such expressions were not obvious. In contemporary speech the occurrence of tal is usually limited to just a few set expressions.

4. Another possibility would be to consider cual as a post-article. In that case the underlying structure of (47) would look like this:



Both possibilities, that cual is a quantifier, or that it is a postarticle, should be further explored.

5. The use of tal in (52) is pejorative.

6. Tho in a few instances que does seem acceptable, e.g. in sentence (68), discussed below: Juan piensa siempre antes de hablar, {lo cual / que} es lo que nunca viene mal. I.e. que may be acceptable when it is followed by the copula + lo que.

7. Actually it does not seem accurate to consider la que as "un solo elemento gramatical." The relative here seems to consist of the definite article plus the complementizer.

8. Actually the question may be rather complicated, in light of the following sentences:

   (i) El señor se había quejado más

   (ii) Le taparon la boca a la señora, y sacaron a la fuerza al señor, {el cual / el que} se había quejado todavía más

Since (i) seems quite natural, the explanation for the strangeness of (73) is not clear to me. As can be seen by comparing (73) with (ii), a similar construction with el cual no longer seems strange.

9. The possibility of sentences like the following (pointed out to me by Otero) complicates the question:

   (i) Yo, que soy la que me porté bien, pude salir temprano

(ii) Tú, que eres el que la conoces bien, crees que es culpable

Compare (i) and (ii) with (76a) and (78a) respectively (the latter two are repeated below as (iii) and (iv):

(iii) *Yo, la que me porté bien, pude salir temprano

(iv) *Tú, el que la conoces bien, crees que es culpable

It can be seen that if (i) and (ii) are allowed to undergo Relative Reduction, the results are the ungrammatical (iii) and (iv) respectively.

A comparison of the examples under consideration with the following pseudo-cleft and inverted pseudo-cleft sentences may be useful. (Note that the Ss underlying the appositive clauses in (i, ii) have the same deep structure as the Ss (v) and (ix) respectively):

(v) Yo soy la que me porté bien

(vi) Yo soy la que se portó bien

(vii) *La que me porté bien soy yo

(viii) La que se portó bien soy yo

(ix) Tú eres el que le conoces bien

(x) Tú eres el que le conoce bien

(xi) *El que la conoces bien eres tú

(xii) El que la conoce bien eres tú

It is acceptable for the verb in the relative clause (and the reflexive proncun, if there is one) to be either first or second person if a first or second person pronoun which is coreferential with the subject

of the relative clause occurs earlier in the S (e.g. (v, ix), but otherwise it is not (vii, ix). For the same reason (i) and (ii) are acceptable. But if Relative Reduction is allowed to delete que plus a first or second person verb form, the verb (and reflexive pronoun, if any) after the headless relative in surface structure can only be third person (as in (76b, 78b), repeated here as (xiii, xiv) respectively, in order for the resultant sentence to be acceptable:

(xiii) Yo, la que se portó bien, pude salir temprano

(xiv) Tú, el que la conoce bien, crees que es culpable

These seem to be the facts, tho it's not clear to me just how the grammar should account for them. A possible solution would be to prevent the application of Relative Reduction to sentences such as (i) and (ii).

Bello makes the following observations concerning such constructions:

> Hay con todo en el uso de los relativos un caso que pudiera dar lugar a duda. ¿Se debe decir, "yo soy el que lo afirma," o "el que lo afirmo?" "¿Tú eres quien me ha vendido," o "quien me has vendido?" La primera concordancia me parece la más conforme a la razón, porque el que o quien es el hombre que o la persona que, y sustituyendo estas últimas frases, sería sin duda menos propio afirmo, has. Pero es preciso confesar que ambos están autorizados por el uso... (S. 849).

According to Cuervo, there seem to be cases in which usage demands that the form of the verb be first or second person, even if the grammatical subject of

the verb is the third person PRO:

Por más razonable que parezca la concordancia con la tercera persona en frases como "yo soy el que lo afirma," hay circunstancias en que es imposible, como en este lugar de Fray Luis de Granada: "Vos sois el que mandáis que os pidamos, y hacéis que os hallemos, y nos abrís cuando os llamamos;" pues si se pone vos sois el que manda, no se sabe cómo seguir, si que os pidamos o que le pidamos: lo primero no es aceptable porque la persona que manda es la misma a quien se ha de pedir: lo segundo menos, porque lo que inmediatamente se ocurre es que la persona a quien ha de pedirse es diferente de las demás que aparecen en la oración. Otras veces, estando el espíritu fijo en un solo objeto, la énfasis y el calor del estilo no permiten que se distraiga la atención usando dos expresiones gramaticales. Cuando el moro Zaide, al oir de boca de su amada que le deja por otro, le recuerda sus promesas diciéndole:

Tú eres la que dijiste
En el balcón la otra tarde:
Tuya soy, tuya seré
Y tuya es mi vida, Zaide:

¿será posible que estando a un tiempo los ojos y el alma clavados en una sola persona, el lenguaje represente dos? La regla de la concordancia en tercera persona me parece de general y oportuna aplicación en los protocolos y en las gramáticas, pero puede no ser tan rigurosa en el estilo apasionado y fervoroso. (Note 110)

Akmajian has noted for English that sentences like like (xv) and (xvi) answer different questions (a fact first noted by Jackendoff, and quoted by Ross (1970, p. 270, footnote 53):

(xv) Yo soy el que tiene que protegerse

(xvi) Yo soy el que tengo que protegerme

(xv) could answer (xvii), and (xvi) could answer (xviii):

(xvii) ¿Quién tiene que protegerse?

(xviii) ¿Quién tiene que protegerte?

Akmajian suggests a "low level correction rule" to deal with such problems in English. He points out that while (xix, xx, xxi) are acceptable, (xii) is not:

(xix) I am the one who has to protect myself

(xx) I am the one who has to protect himself

(xxi) The one who has to protect himself is me

(xxii) *The one who has to protect myself is me

10. Sentences of this type were first pointed out to me by Otero.

11. Except if the head is a proper noun, a possessive NP, or a personal pronoun.

Chapter 2. Restrictive relatives whose head is PRO (+DEF, -HUM), PRO (+DEF, +HUM), or PRO (-DEF, +HUM)

2.1 PRO (+DEFINITE, -HUMAN)

A relative clause may occur without a head noun in surface structure. E.g.,

(1) He visto la bicicleta que se compró Marta y <u>la que se compró Tomás</u>

'I've seen the bicycle that Marta bought and the one that Thomas bought'

(2) Ese niño es <u>el que causó el problema</u>

'That child is the one who caused the problem'

(3) Se comió unas manzanas maduras y <u>otras que estaban verdes</u>

'He ate some ripe apples and some others that were green'

(4) Nos gustan las películas que son divertidas tanto como <u>las que son tristes</u>

'We like the movies that are amusing as much as the ones that are sad'

In each of the above underlined noun phrases, the underlying head noun does not appear in surface structure.

In the following examples, in the underlined NPs the underlying head was a dummy pro-noun. This dummy pro-noun can never occur in surface structure. It is understood as specific in (5, 6) and as nonspecific in (7):

(5) <u>Lo que tú crees</u> no es cierto (+SPECIFIC)

'What (that which) you believe is not certain'

(6) No me contaron <u>lo que pasó</u> (+SPECIFIC)

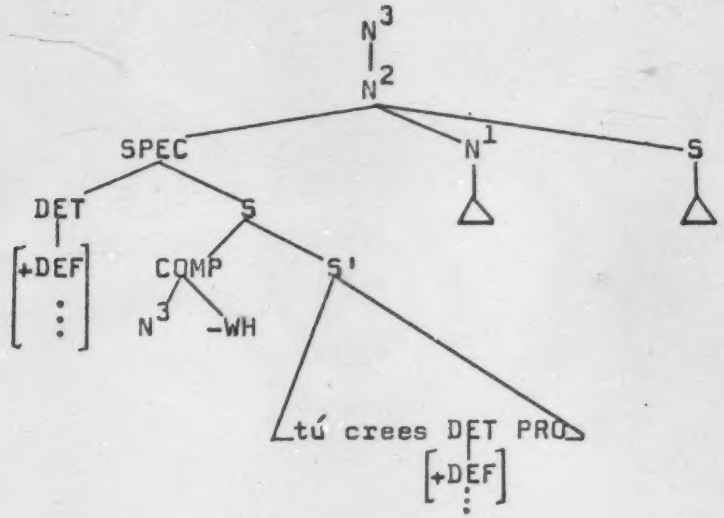
'They didn't tell me what happened'

(7) No me importa <u>lo que pienses de mí</u> (-SPECIFIC)

'It doesn't matter to me what you think of me'

The underlying structure for the subject NP, <u>lo que tú crees</u>, is approximately as follows:

(8)



If the relativized NP is this definite PRO, and if it is the object of a preposition within the relative clause, note that the preposition must precede <u>lo que</u> in surface structure. Compare:

(9) No sabes <u>el follón en el que te has metido</u>

'You don't know the mess you've gotten yourself into'

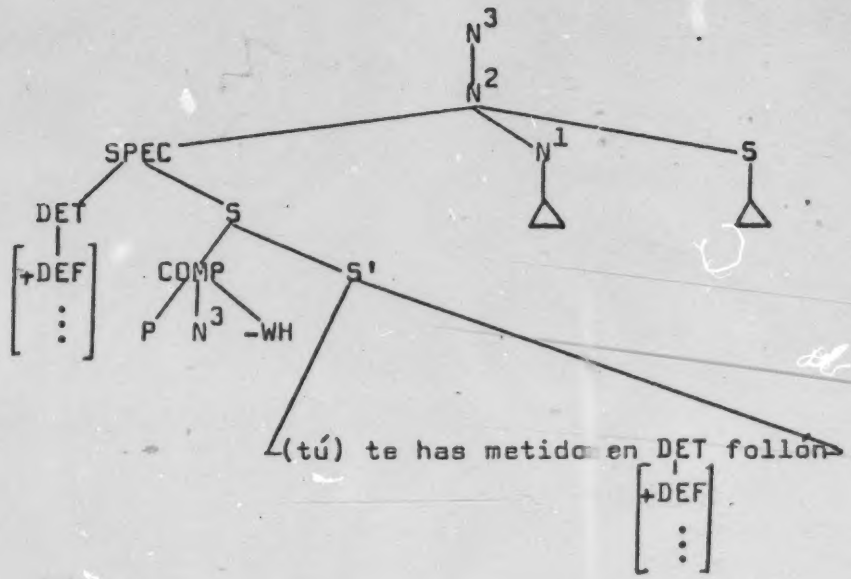
(10) No sabes <u>en lo que te has metido</u>

'You don't know what you've gotten yourself into'

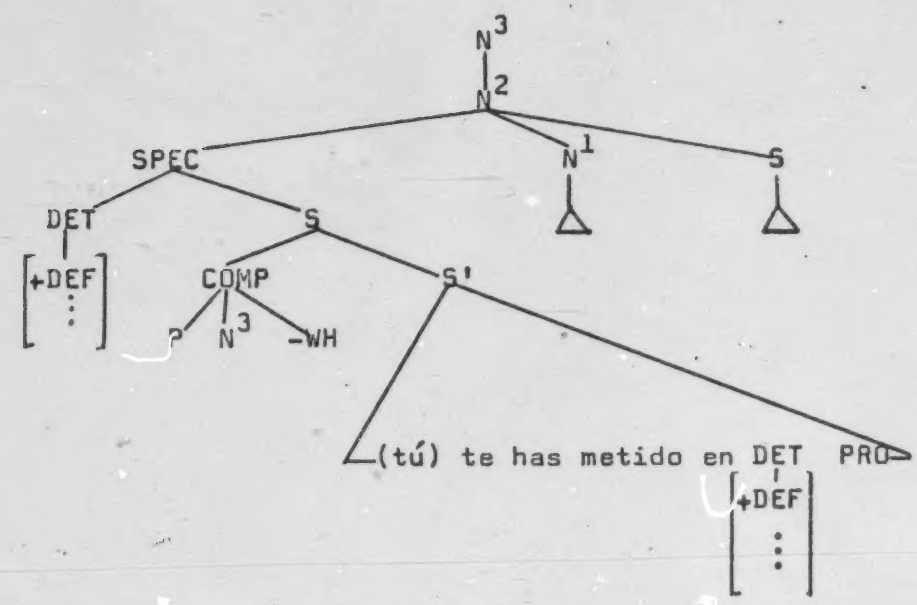
(11) *No sabes <u>lo en (lo) que te has metido</u>

The trees for the underlined NPs in (9) and (10) are (12) and (13) respectively:

(12)



(13)



Bello makes the following observations about these constructions:

> El verbo <u>ser</u> se encuentra a menudo entre dos frases sustantivas, una de las cuales se compone de un artículo sustantivo o sustantivado que una proposición subordinada modifica: "<u>Eso era lo que apetecías</u>;" "<u>Esta vieja casa es la que abrigó nuestra infancia</u>:" construcción

normal, en que nada se desvía de las reglas comunes.

> Si el relativo que fuese precedido de preposición diríamos según las mismas reglas: "Esta vieja casa es la en que se abrigó nuestra infancia;" "Fue pequeño espacio el en que estuvo Transila desmayada" (Cervantes); "No son días de fe los en que vivimos" (Alcalá Galiano).
>
> Pero esta construcción regular no es la que prefiere ordinariamente la lengua. El giro genial del castellano es anteponer la preposición al artículo: "Infinitamente más es a lo que se extiende este infinito poder" (Granada): por lo a que. "Si al pueblo," dice Lope de Vega,
>
> > "En las comedias ha de darse gusto,
> > Con lo que se consigue es lo más justo:"
>
> por lo con que. "El estilo en que se expusiese la muerte del rey Agis en un asunto sacado de la historia de Lacedemonia, debe ser más conciso y enérgico que en el que se presentase un argumento persa como el de Artajerjes" (Martínez de la Rosa): por el en que. (S. 802-804)

The problem, then, is to explain the derivation of this "giro genial del castellano."

Note first that the preposition could not have originated before the relativized NP, lo PRO, in underlying structure. It can be seen that when a lexical head noun occurs instead of PRO, the strings below are ungrammatical if the preposition precedes the head noun:

(14) No sabes en lo que te has metido

(15) No sabes (*en) el follón en el que te has metido

(16) No explicaron a lo que va la investigación

(17) No explicaron $\left\{\begin{matrix}*\text{al}\\ \text{el}\end{matrix}\right\}$ fin al que va la investigación

Note also that if the relativized NP occurs as object of a preposition in the matrix sentence, this type of construction in which a preposition precedes lo que in surface structure is not possible:

(18) Yo me enteré del follón en el que te habías metido

'I found out about the mess that you had gotten yourself into'

(19) *Yo me enteré de en lo que te habías metido

(20) Juan piensa en el fin al que va la investigación

'John thinks about the end the investigation is going towards'

(21) *Juan piensa en a lo que va la investigación

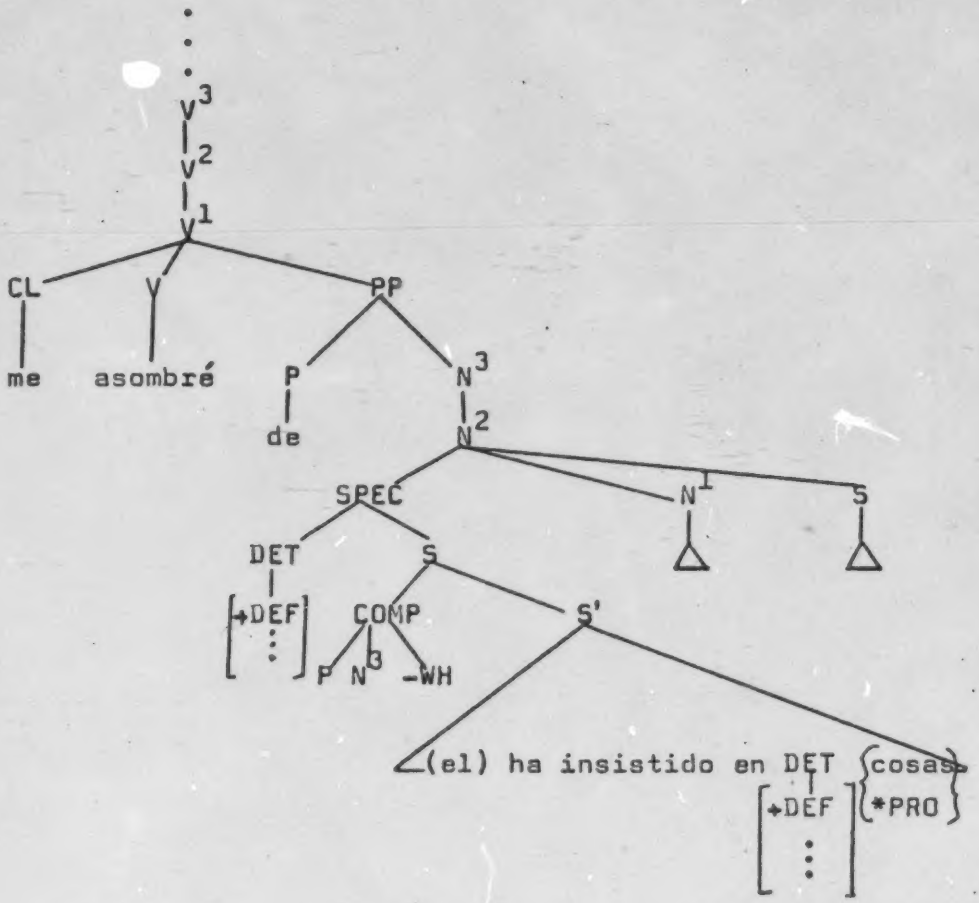
(22) Yo me asombré de las cosas en las que ha insistido

'I was surprised at the things that he has insisted on'

(23) *Yo me asombré de en lo que han insistido

The underlying structures for both (22) and (23) are represented in (24):

(24)



Neither is this construction possible if the two prepositions are the same:

(25) Me reí del asunto del que te habías enterado

'I laughed about the matter which you had found out about'

(26) *Me reí de (de) lo que te habías enterado

(27) Pensamos mucho en las demandas en las que han insistido

'We're thinking a lot about the demands which they've insisted on'

(28) *Pensamos mucho en (en) lo que han insistido

The construction under consideration has occurred thus far in object position after the matrix verb. Note now that even tho I've suggested that this construction, P + lo que, derives from what is in underlying structure an NP, there are some positions in which an NP occurs in which this construction cannot occur. E.g., it cannot occur as subject of an S:

(29) La cosa de la que yo me había enterado impresionó a todos

'The thing which I'd found out about impressed everybody'

(30) *De lo que yo me había enterado impresionó a todos

(31) Las cosas de las que se han reído han sido poco divertidas

'The things they've laughed at have been not very amusing'

(32) *De lo que se han reído ha sido poco divertido

Neither can this construction be passivized:

(33) Ya sabemos todos de lo que se han reído

'We all know already what they've laughed at'

(34) *De lo que se han reído ya es sabido por todos

(35) Elena sabe en lo que se basa la novela

'Elena knows what the novel is based on'

(36) *En lo que se basa la novela es sabido por Elena

It can be seen, then, that in several respects the syntactic behavior of this construction, P + lo que, differs from that of other NPs. This construction cannot occur as object of a preposition, and it cannot occur as subject of

an S. Now observe that, even tho at surface level it has the same sequence of elements as do certain PPs, (e.g., Saben mucho $_{PP}$(de $_{N^3}$(lo que pasó))), the syntactic behavior of this construction under consideration also differs from that of deep structure PPs. E.g., only the preposition from a deep structure PP is repeated in a pseudo-cleft sentence:

(37) Juan piensa en la que lo quiere

'John is thinking about the one who loves him'

(38)(a) {En} la que Juan piensa es en la que lo quiere
(b) {*Ø}

'The one John is thinking about is the one who loves him'

(39) Todos se quejan de los precios de la carne

'Everybody complains about the prices of meat'

(40)(a) {De} lo que todos se quejan es de los precios de
(b) {*Ø}
la carne

'What everybody complains about is the prices of meat'

(41) Quiero saber más de lo que pasó

'I want to know more about what happened'

(42)(a) {De} lo que quiero saber más es de lo que pasó
(b) {*Ø}

'What I want to know more about is what happened'

(43) Todos se oponen a lo que se decidió

'Everybody is opposed to what was decided'

(44)(a) {A} lo que todos se oponen es a lo que se
(b) {*Ø}
decidió

'What everybody is opposed to is what was decided'

(45) No me acuerdo de lo que se dijo

'I don't remember what was said'

(46)(a) (b) {De / *Ø} lo que no me acuerdo es de lo que se dijo

'What I don't remember is what was said'

But in the construction under consideration, the preposition is not repeated in a pseudo-cleft sentence (i.e. the preposition occurs before the "focused" NP, but not before the subject):

(47) No nos contaron a lo que iba la investigación

'They didn't tell us what the investigation was going towards'

(48) (*A) lo que no nos contaron fue a lo que iba la investigación

'What they didn't tell us was what the investigation was going towards'

(49) Juan no sabía en lo que se metía

'John didn't know what he was getting himself into'

(50) (*En) lo que Juan no sabía era en lo que se metía

'What John didn't know was what he was getting himself into'

(51) No explicaron de lo que se trata

'They didn't explain what it's about'

(52) (*De) lo que no explicaron fue de lo que se trata

'What they didn't explain was what it's about'

Furthermore, note that not all prepositions can occur in these constructions. E.g., neither sin nor para is

grammatical:

(53) {*Sabemos / *Me dijo / *No recuerdo} {sin lo que no se puede vencer / sin lo que no se puede trabajar / para lo que trabajan / para lo que quieren más dinero}

Bello has observed that "las interrogaciones y exclamaciones indirectas están siempre asociadas a palabras o frases que significan actos del entendimiento o del habla, como saber, entender, decir, preguntar, etc." (S. 1163) Many of these verbs could also be characterized by their cooccurrence with (-CONCRETE) objects and their incompatibility with (+CONCRETE) objects. Compare:

EMBEDDED QUESTIONS:

(54) María {sabía / te dijo / explicaba / no recordaba} {qué habían usado para freir la carne / qué habían elegido para recoger el polvo / qué habían traído para arreglar el grifo}

'Mary {knew / told you / was explaining / didn't remember} {what they had used to fry the meat / what they had chosen to pick up the dust / what they had brought to fix the faucet}'

(+CONCRETE) OBJECTS:

(55) * María {sabía / te dijo / explicaba / no recordaba} {{el aceite / la sartén} que habían usado para freir la carne / el recogedor que habían usado para recoger el polvo / las herramientas que habían traído para arreglar el grifo}

'*Mary { knew / told you / was explaining / didn't remember } { { the oil / the pan } that they had used to fry the meat / the dust pan that they had used to pick up the dust / the tools that they had used to fix the faucet }'

EMBEDDED QUESTIONS:

(56) María { sabía / te dijo / explicaba / no recordaba } { { qué aceite / qué sartén } habían usado para freir la carne / qué recogedor habían elegido para recoger el polvo / qué herramientas habían elegido para arreglar el grifo }

'Mary { knew / told you / was explaining / didn't remember } { { what oil / what pan } they had used to fry the meat / what dust pan they had chosen to pick up the dust / what tools they had chosen to fix the faucet }'

(-CONCRETE) OBJECTS:

(57) María { sabía / te dijo / explicaba / no recordaba } { la filosofía de la escuela / los problemas que tenía cada uno / las ideas que habían sido presentadas en la conferencia }

'Mary { knew / told you / was explaining / didn't remember } { the philosophy of the school / the problems that each one had / the ideas that had been presented in the conference }'

These verbs which admit (-CONCRETE) NPs as their objects but which do not admit (+CONCRETE) NP objects can be followed by the construction under consideration, P + lo que. This construction, then, is understood as (-CONCRETE):

(58) María { sabía / te dijo / explicaba / no recordaba } { a lo que habían dirigido su atención / a lo que debíamos prestar atención / por lo que habían venido / de lo que Mario se había { quejado / cansado / reído / asqueado / hartado } / en lo que se basaba la película / de lo que trata el asunto / a lo que os llevará ese camino }

'Mary { knew / told you / was explaining / didn't remember } { what they had directed their attention to / what we should pay attention to / what they had come for / what Mario had { complained about / tired of / laughed at / gotten disgusted with / gotten fed up with } }'

The verbs in the following examples differ from those in (54-58) in that they can accept (+CONCRETE) direct objects, but not (-CONCRETE) objects:

(-CONCRETE) OBJECTS:

(59) María { compró / tocó / nos regaló / me prestó / escondió } { { el aceite / la sartén } que habían usado para freir la carne / el recogedor que habían elegido para recoger el polvo / las herramientas que habían traído para arreglar el grifo }

'Mary { bought / touched / gave us / loaned me / hid } { { the oil / the pan } that they had used to fry the meat / the dust pan that they had chosen to pick up the dust / the tools that they had brought to fix the faucet }'

(+CONCRETE) OBJECTS:

(60) *María { compró / tocó / nos regaló / me prestó / escondió } { la filosofía de la escuela / los problemas que tenía cada uno / las ideas que habían sido presentadas en la conferencia }

'*Mary { bought / touched / gave us / loaned me / hid } { the philosophy of the school / the problems that each one had / the ideas that had been presented in the conference }'

As can be seen in the sentences of (61), such verbs cannot take the surface string P + lo que as their object:

(61) *María { compró / tocó / nos regaló / me prestó / escondió } { a lo que habían dirigido su atención / a lo que debíamos prestar atención / por lo que habían venido / de lo que Mario se había { quejado / cansado / reído / hartado / asqueado } }

'Mary { bought / touched / gave us / loaned me / hid } { what they had paid attention to / what we should pay attention to / what they had come for / what Mario had { complained about / tired of / laughed at / gotten fed up with / gotten disgusted with } }'

Note that the sentences of (62), in which the object of the matrix verb differs only slightly from the objects in (61),

are all grammatical. The essential difference is that the objects in (62) are not of the form P + lo que:

(62) María { compró / tocó / nos regaló / me prestó / escondió } { la cosa a la que habían dirigido su atención / aquello a lo que debíamos prestar atención / la cosa por la que habían venido / la cosa de la que Mario se había { quejado / cansado / reído / ⋮ } }

'Mary { bought / touched / gave us / loaned me / hid } { the thing that they had directed their attention to / that which we should pay attention to / the thing that they had come for / the thing that Mario had { complained about / tired of / laughed at / ⋮ } }'

The construction P + lo que, then, can only occur after verbs which accept (-CONCRETE) objects, not after those which take (+CONCRETE) objects. If, because of the semantic content of the relative clause, the PRO which underlies the construction P + lo que can only be understood as (+CONCRETE), this construction cannot occur. In such cases it is ungrammatical after both matrix verbs which admit (+CONCRETE) objects and matrix verbs which admit (-CONCRETE) objects:

(+CONCRETE) OBJECTS:

(63) *María { compró / tocó / nos regaló / me prestó / escondió } { con lo que habían frito la carne / en lo que habían recogido el polvo / con lo que habían arreglado el techo }

'Mary { bought / touched / gave us / loaned me / hid } { what they had fried the meat with / what they had picked up the dust in / what they had fixed the ceiling with }'

(-CONCRETE) OBJECTS:

(64) *María { sabía / te dijo / explicaba / no recordaba } { con lo que habían frito la carne / en lo que habían recogido el polvo / con lo que habían arreglado el techo }

'Mary { knew / told you / was explaining / didn't remember } { what they had fried the meat with / what they had picked up the dust in / what they had fixed the ceiling with }'

However, note that this same PRO can be either (+CONCRETE) or (-CONCRETE) when the relative clause is not dominated by a preposition:

(+CONCRETE) OBJECTS:

(65) María { compró / tocó / nos regaló / me prestó / escondió } { lo que habían usado para freir la carne / lo que habían elegido para recoger el polvo / lo que habían usado para arreglar el techo }

'Mary { bought / touched / gave us / loaned me / hid } { what they had used to fry the meat / what they had chosen to pick up the dust / what they had used to fix the ceiling }'

(-CONCRETE) OBJECTS:

(66) María { sabía / te dijo / explicaba / no recordaba } { lo que se había dicho en la conferencia / lo que la abuela pensaba / lo que causó el problema / lo que les había deprimido }

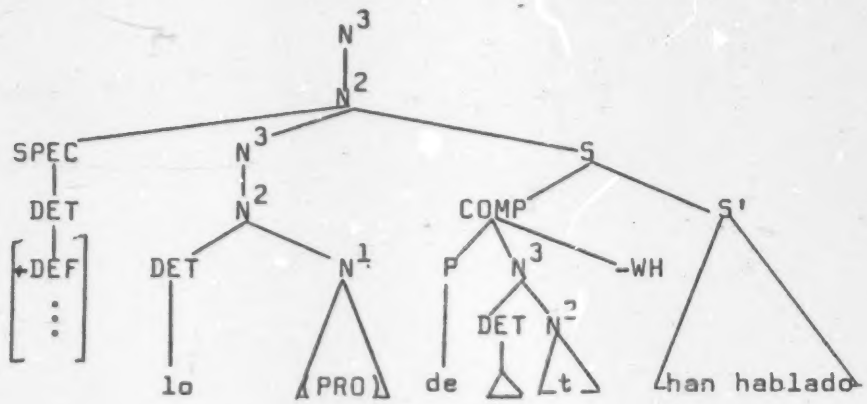
'Mary { knew / told you / explained / didn't remember } { what had been said in the conference / what the grandmother thought / what had caused the problem / what had depressed them }

Having examined some aspects of the syntactic behavior of this construction, I now turn to the question of how it is to be derived. One possibility would be that a transformation changes the order of lo and the following preposition. E.g., assume that the derivation of a sentence like (67) at some point goes thru an intermediate stage in which the underlined NP looks approximately like (68):

(67) No sabe de lo que han hablado

'He doesn't know what they've talked about'

(68)



(Here t represents the trace left by the promotion of the relativized NP, as will be more fully explained in Chapter 4.)

I suggest that the grammar contains a transformation like (69):

(69) SD: X - lo - PRO - (P - (△) - Z)
COMP DET
1 2 3 4 5 6

SC: 1 Ø 3 4 2 6

The effect of the transformation is to move the feature matrix dominated by the DET of the head noun phrase under the DET node of the COMP. This would produce the order which appears in the surface structure (67), i.e., de lo que.

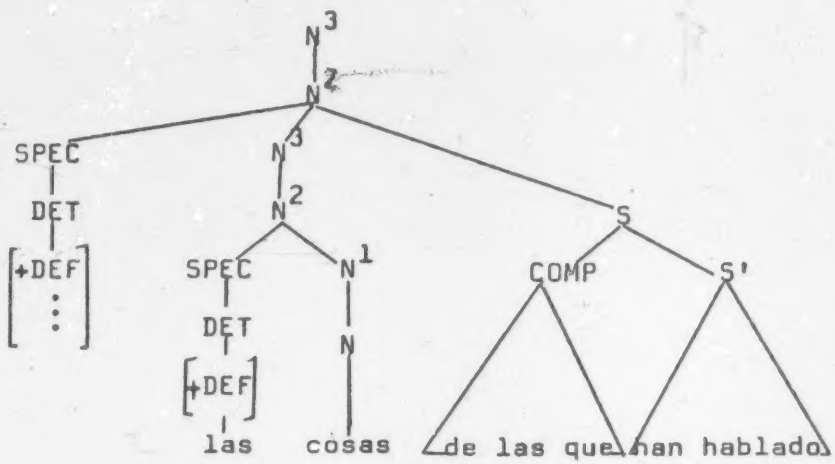
In Chapter 4 I will suggest that the DET in COMP sometimes dominates an overt determiner in surface structure. E.g., the underlined las in a sentence like (70) occurs under this DET:

(70) No sabe las cosas de las que han hablado

'He doesn't know the things which they talked about'

The surface structure of the NP in (70) may be represented as (71):

(71)



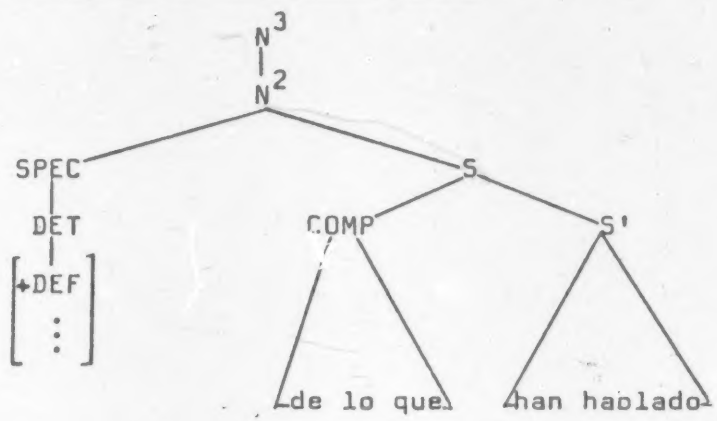
Now note the ungrammaticality of the second lo in strings like (72):

(72) No sabe de lo (*lo) que han hablado

It can be seen that if the transformation proposed in (69) applies, i.e., if the DET, lo, of the head NP PRO is moved into the COMP, no other DET can occur under COMP. (Tho recall that in an NP like the one in (70), las cosas de las que han hablado, one DET occurs before the head noun cosas and another occurs under COMP.) In Chapter 4 it will be seen that the relative form after a preposition is ART + que if the head N is one like the (+DEF) PRO under discussion. There is only one DET node under COMP, and at the time of the application of (69) it is already filled. So (69), when it applies, moves the feature matrix (+DET, +DEF, -GENDER) under the DET node in COMP, a node which at this point already dominates these same features.

A possible partial representation of the surface structure of (67) (No sabe de lo que han hablado) is (73):

(73)



If this representation is correct, it may explain why in some ways these constructions do not behave like NPs (e.g., why they cannot be passivized, etc.), since it can be seen that at this level the construction de lo que is not an NP.

The construction considered so far has had lo PRO as its head in underlying structure. In the following examples it can be seen that when the head of the construction is a lexical noun it cannot be deleted:

(74) Todos los espías grabaron las ideas que habían sido presentadas en la conferencia, pero sólo María fue lo suficientemente astuta como para {recordar / decirnos / explicar} las {ideas / *Ø} de las que el público se había {reído / quejado / cansado / burlado}

'All the spies recorded the ideas which had been presented at the conference, but only Mary was astute enough to {remember / tell us / explain} the {ideas / ones} that the public had {laughed at / complained about / tired of / made fun of}'

Compare (74) and (75):

(75) ... pero sólo María fué lo suficientemente astuta como para {recordar / decirnos / explicar} {de cuáles / de lo que} el público se había {reído / quejado / cansado / burlado}

'... but only Mary was astute enough to {remember / tell us / explain} {which ones / what} the public had {laughed at / complained about / tired of / made fun of} '

Note now that the construction P + lo que (la que, los que, las que) is also ungrammatical after a copula in examples like the following:

(76) *Yo soy en la que Juan se apoya

(Cf.: Yo soy aquella en la que Juan se apoya)

(77) *Este jardín es en el que pusieron el espanta pájaros

(Cf.: Este jardín es aquel en el que pusieron el espantapájaros)

(78) *Yo soy por la que todos preguntaban

(79) {*Su marido / *Este libro} es del que se ha cansado

The ungrammaticality of (76-79) seems to be related to a problem which was considered in the first chapter. Recall that most native speakers have no difficulty in perceiving the semantic difference between sentences like (80,81), but the semantic differences between sentences like (82, 83) is not immediately obvious:

(80) Juan, el que se había encargado de traer las bebidas, ...

'John, the one who had taken charge of bringing the drinks, ...'

(81) Juan, que se había encargado de traer las bebidas, ...

'John, who had taken charge of bringing the drinks, ...'

(82) Yo, por quien todos preguntaban, ...

'I, for whom everyone was asking, ...'

(83) Yo, por la que todos preguntaban, ...

(83) does not seem to be interpreted as meaning 'I, the one who everyone was asking for,' the interpretation which would be parallel to the interpretation given to (80). The fact that sentences like (82) are not understood in this way may be related to the ungrammaticality of strings like (78), which would have to underlie the appositive relative clause, were it maintained that (83) derived by Relative Reduction, in the same way that (80) seems to. As I pointed out in the first chapter, when the relative clause is not dominated by a preposition the semantic difference between ART + que and the appositive relative form (ART + cual, quien, or que) is obvious, but when the appositive relative begins with a preposition in surface structure, the difference is not as clear.

This section has dealt with a PRO which is (+DEFINITE, -HUMAN). In the following section I will consider two PROs which are (+HUMAN).

2.2. PRO (+DEFINITE, +HUMAN) and PRO (-DEFINITE, +HUMAN)

In this section I will compare quien and el que, both of which seem to come from an underlying (+HUMAN) PRO[1] which has no surface realization. Compare the following examples:

(84)(a) Quien gane la carrera mañana irá a los Juegos Olímpicos

'Whoever wins the race tomorrow will go to the Olympic Games'

(b) El que gane la carrera mañana irá a los Juegos Olímpicos

'The one that wins the race tomorrow will go to the Olympic Games'

(85)(a) Quien llegue primero recibirá el premio

'Whoever arrives first will receive the prize'

(b) El que llegue primero recibirá el premio

'The one that arrives first will receive the prize'

Tho both derive from an underlying (+HUMAN) PRO, quien and el que can be shown to be different in several important respects. For one thing, quien and el que answer different questions (a fact pointed out to me by Otero). E.g., (86) could be answered by (87), and (88) could be answered by (89):

(86) ¿Irá Juan a los Juegos Olímpicos?

'Will John go to the Olympic Games?'

(87) No, quien irá a los Juegos Olímpicos es el mejor atleta cubano

(lit.: No, who will go to the Olympic Games is the best Cuban athlete)

(88) ¿Quién es el que irá a los Juegos Olímpicos?

'Who is the one that will go to the Olympic Games?'

(89) {*Quien / El que} irá a los Juegos Olímpicos es Juan

'The one that will go to the Olympic Games is John'

Quien also differs from el que with respect to several features. Quien can occur after forms of haber, but el que cannot:

(90)(a) No hay { quien } te aguante
(b) { *el que }

(lit.: There is not who can stand you)

(approx.: 'There is nobody who can stand you')

(91)(a) Hay { quien } te desea mal
(b) { *el que }

(lit.: There is who wishes you ill)

(approx.: 'There is somebody who wishes you ill')

Thus it seems reasonable to conclude that the PRO which underlies quien is (-DEFINITE). And it seems clear that the PRO underlying el que is (+DEFINITE).

Note now that el que can be either specific or nonspecific:

(92) El que llegó primero se llevó el premio

'The one (SPECIFIC) who arrived (INDICATIVE) first carried off the prize'

(93) El que llegue primero se llevará el premio

'The one (NONSPECIFIC) who arrives (SUBJUNCTIVE) first will carry off the prize'

Altho the question needs further investigation, it appears that the free relative quien can only be understood as nonspecific. E.g., this seems to be true of (91a), repeated here as (94), as well as (95):

(94) Hay quien te desea mal

(approx.: 'There is somebody who wishes you ill')

(95) Habrá quien te desee mal

(approx.: 'There will be somebody who wishes you ill')

If the claim that quien is always understood as nonspecific proves to be correct, it may explain the difference between sentences like the following:

(96) Yo no soy el que puede aconsejarte (sino que es ése)

'I'm not the one who can advise you (but rather, it's that guy)'

(97) Yo no soy quien puede aconsejarte (*sino que es ése)

'I'm not somebody who can advise you (*but rather, it's that guy)'

The claim that quien is nonspecific may also explain its unacceptability in sentences like (98):

(98) *Hay quien te espera abajo en el patio

Compare (98) and (99):

(99) Hay alguien que te espera abajo en el patio

'There's somebody who's waiting for you downstairs on the patio'

To summarize, the PRO which underlies el que is (+HUMAN, +DEFINITE), and can be understood as (±SPECIFIC). The PRO which underlies quien is (+HUMAN, -DEFINITE, -SPECIFIC). In certain contexts the meanings of el que and quien may seem virtually identical. E.g., the following pairs at first glance might be taken as synonymous:

(100)(a) {El que} estudie aprenderá
(b) {Quien}

{'He who / Whoever} studies will learn'

(101) (a) El que canta su mal espanta
(b) Quien

{'He who / Whoever} sings scares off his troubles'

However, their differences in features, tho not always immediately evident, should be kept in mind.

The derivation of the surface form el que would seem to be rather straightforward. E.g., compare (102) and (103):

(102) El individuo que llegue tarde será castigado

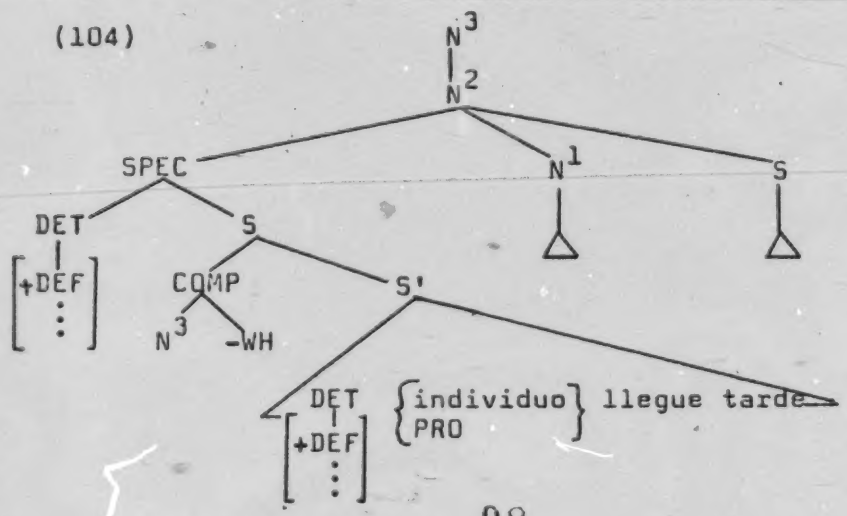
'The individual who arrives late will be punished'

(103) El (PRO) que llegue tarde será castigado

'The one who arrives late will be punished'

It seems that the derivation of (102) and (103) would be quite similar. However, the underlying head N, PRO, in (103), unlike the underlying head N individuo of (102), has no surface realization. The deep structure of the NP in (102) and (103) is represented in (104):

(104)



The question of how quien is to be derived will be taken up in the next chapter.

Footnotes to Chapter 2

1. El que, unlike quien, can also be understood as (-HUMAN) in certain contexts. E.g.,

   (i) De todos los libros que tengo, éste es el que me gusta menos

   But I'll consider only the (+HUMAN) el que.

   It is known that quién (written with an accent, according to orthographic convention), is a (+HUMAN) interrogative word. E.g.,

   (ii) ¿A quién le toca tirar la basura?

   (iii) No se sabe quién la mordió

   But here I will consider only the noninterrogative quien.

Chapter 3. Infinitival relatives and PRO (-DEF, ±HUMAN)

3.1. Infinitival relatives

In Chapter 2 I discussed various PROs: PRO (+DEF, -HUMAN), and PRO (-DEF, ±HUMAN). In this chapter I will discuss a PRO which is (-DEF, -HUMAN). I will also return to the question of the underlying structure of free relatives whose head in surface structure is quien.

Before entering into the discussion of PRO (-DEF, -HUMAN), I will consider certain infinitival structures which I will suggest derive from deep structure restrictive relative clauses. E.g.,

(1) ¿Dónde hay un lápiz con el que firmar el contrato?

'Where is there a pencil with which to sign the contract?'

(2) Estoy buscando una escoba con la que barrer la terraza

'I'm looking for a broom with which to sweep the balcony'

(3) ¿Quién tiene un cubo en el que meter la basura?

'Who has a pail in which to put the garbage?'

(4) Aquí tienes un texto del que copiar el teorema

'Here you have a text from which to copy the theorem'

Note that such constructions cannot occur after proper nouns:

(5)(a) Juanita nos enseñó {el libro / *Aspectos} en el que escribir
(b) los apuntes

'Juanita showed us {the book / *Aspects} in which to write the notes'

(6)(a) Luis se compró {unas pastillas con las / *Librium con el} que relajarse

'Luis bought himself {some pills / *Librium} to relax with'

(7)(a) No tengo {nada / *Don Quixote} que leer

(b) 'I don't have {anything / *Don Quixote} to read'

(8)(a) No pude encontrar {ni una revista / *Triunfo} que leer

'He couldn't find {even a magazine / *Triunfo} to read'

This fact is consistent with the idea that these constructions derive from underlying restrictive relative clauses, since, as has been discussed in Chapter 1, proper nouns cannot be antecedents of restrictive relative clauses.

I now turn to the question of the grammatical function of the relativized NP within the infinitival relative clause. Note that in the following infinitival relatives the relativized NP was the object of a preposition in underlying structure. (The (a) examples in (9-14) will be discussed shortly.)

OBJECT OF A PREPOSITION IN RELATIVE CLAUSE:

(9)(a) Le trajeron una toalla con la que {*se secase / secarse}

(b) 'They brought him a towel with which to dry himself'

(10)(a) Buscaba un rincón en el que {*se escondiese / esconderse}

(b) 'He was looking for a corner in which to hide'

(11)(a) Necesito unas tijeras con las que {*me corte / cortarme}
(b) el pelo

'I need some scissors with which to cut my hair'

In the following infinitival relatives the relativized NP was the deep structure object of the verb in the relative clause S:

(12) No tengo ni un caramelo que ofrecerte

'I don't have even a piece of candy to offer you'

(13) No había ningún libro que leer

'There wasn't any book to read'

(14) No encontró ni un abrigo que ponerse

'He didn't find even a coat to put on'

Note, however, that when the relativized NP is the subject of the relative clause S, the infinitival construction is not possible. Instead, the verb in the relative clause occurs in the subjunctive.

SUBJECT OF RELATIVE CLAUSE:

(15)(a) No tengo nada que {me consuele / *consolarme}
(b)

'I have nothing which consoles me'

(16)(a) ¿No hay nada que {os apetezca / *apeteceros}?
(b)

'Isn't there anything that appeals to you?'

(17)(a) En todo el museo, no había ningún cuadro que
(b) {le gustara / *gustarle}

'In the whole museum there wasn't any picture that he liked'

The infinitival construction, then, can occur only if the relativized NP is the object of the verb or the object of a preposition within the relative clause S.

Now compare the following sentences:

(18) Siempre encuentran alguna cosa de la que quejarse

'They always find something to complain about'

(19) Siempre encuentran alguna cosa de la que se quejan

'They always find something that they complain about'

It can be seen that if the verb in the relative clause is in the indicative, as in (19), the sentence is not synonymous with the infinitival construction, (18). For (19) implies that the action actually does take place, while the infinitival construction, (18), does not. This can be seen in the following sentences, which were pointed out to me by Otero:[1]

(20) Siempre encuentran alguna cosa de la que quejarse, pero nunca se quejan abiertamente

'They always find something about which to complain, but they never complain openly'

(21) Siempre ercuentran alguna cosa de la que se quejan, (#pero nunca se quejan abiertamente)

'They always find something about which they complain, (#but they never complain openly)'

It is known that in certain other constructions, use of the subjunctive indicates that an action has not yet taken place:

(22) Cuando tengas 16 años, ya no nos quedará gasolina

'When you're 16 years old, we won't have any gasoline left'

(23) Pienso quedarme en esta silla hasta que termine este capítulo

'I plan to stay in this chair until I finish this chapter'

It seems that the use of the infinitive in these relative clauses resembles the use of the subjunctive in other constructions in that both are understood to refer to an action which is not realized. Furthermore, there appears to be a certain parallelism between the use of the infinitive when the relativized NP is object of the verb or object of a preposition, on the one hand, and the use of the subjunctive when the relativized NP is the subject of the relative clause on the other. This parallelism is attested to by the occurrence of the subjunctive and the ungrammaticality of the infinitive in sentences like (15b, 16b, 17b), in which the relativized NP is the subject of the relative clause, and the occurrence of the infinitive and the ungrammaticality of the subjunctive in the (a) sentences of (9-14), in which the relativized NP is the object of a preposition or object of the verb.[24]

However, an exception to the obligatory occurrence of the infinitive would seem to be cases in which certain modals occur in the relative clause. E.g., both (24a) and (24b) seem to be acceptable:

(24)(a) En esta casa no encuentro juguetes con los que {pueda / poder} divertirte

(b)

'In this house I don't find toys with which {I can / to be able to} amuse you'

Compare (24) and (25):

(25)(a) En esta casa no encuentro juguetes con los que
(b) {*te divierta / divertirte}

'In this house I don't find toys with which to amuse you'

3.2. Syntactic differences between infinitival relatives which are dominated by a PP and those which are not

The sentences of (1, 2, 9-11) (i.e., those in which the relativized NP is the object of a preposition) are similar to those of (3, 4, 12-14) (i.e., the ones in which the relativized NP is the object of a verb) in that in both cases an infinitive occurs in the relative clause. However, the two types of constructions exhibit significant differences in syntactic behavior. Consider the following syntactic differences:

I. The construction in which the relative clause is dominated by a PP can occur after verbs which cannot otherwise be followed by an NP which contains an infinitival relative;[3]

(26)

Comprarán Están buscando Les han mandado Les hemos regalado Han pedido Trajeron	a) un cuchillo con el que cortar la carne b) una hoja en la que escribir la nota c) una bolsa en la que llevar la ropa d) unas tijeras con las que cortarse las uñas e) unas medias (*que arreglar) f) una camisa (*que planchar) g) una tarta (*que comer) h) unos guantes (*que ponerse)
'They will buy They're looking for They've sent him We've given them They've requested They brought	a) a knife with which to cut the meat' b) a piece of paper on which to write the note c) a bag in which to carry the clothing d) some scissors with which to cut nails e) some stockings (to fix) f) a shirt (to iron) g) a cake (to eat) h) some gloves (to put on)

The infinitival construction when it is not dominated by a PP seems to occur only in a negative matrix sentence, and then only after a limited class of matrix verbs (e.g., no haber, no tener, no encontrar, ...); but the construction dominated by a PP can occur in both negative and affirmative matrix sentences, as well as after other verbs:

(27) No {había / encontré / tenía} {ni un libro que leer / ni un abrigo que ponerse}

{'There wasn't / He didn't find / He didn't have} {even a book to read / even a coat to put on}'

(28) No { había / encontró / tenía } { ni una hoja en la que envolver los libros / ni un abrigo con el que protegerse del frío / ni una escoba con la que barrer la terraza }

'{ There wasn't / He didn't find / He didn't have } { even a piece of paper in which to wrap up the books / even a coat with which to protect himself from the cold / even a broom with which to sweep the balcony } '

(29) { Había / Encontró / Tenía / Buscaba / Quería } { un libro (*que leer) / un abrigo (*que ponerse) }

'{ There was / He found / He had / He was looking for / He wanted } { a book (to read) / a coat (to put on) } '

(30) { Había / Encontró / Tenía / Buscaba / Quería } { una hoja en la que envolver los libros / un abrigo con el que protegerse del frío / una escoba con la que barrer la terraza }

'{ There was / He found / He had / He was looking for / He wanted } { a piece of paper in which to wrap up the books / a coat with which to protect himself from the cold / a broom with which to sweep the balcony } '

II. An NP which contains an infinitival relative can occur in subject position if the relative clause is dominated by a PP; otherwise it cannot:

(31) { (a) Una maleta en la que meter los libros
(b) Una hucha en la que guardar el dinero
(c) Una máquina con la que hacer las fotos } ha llegado por correo

{ (d) Una revista (*que hojear)
(e) Un abrigo (*que ponerse)
(f) Un disco (*que escuchar) }

' { A suitcase in which to put the books
A bank in which to put the money
A camera with which to take pictures } has arrived by mail'

{ A magazine (*to flip thru)
A coat (*to put on)
A record (*to listen to) }

III. An NP which contains an infinitival relative can be passivized if the relative clause is dominated by a PP; otherwise it cannot:

(32) Porfirio no encontró { (a) ni una cuerda con la que atar la puerta
(b) ninguna caja en la que meter el tesoro
(c) nada que leer
(d) ni un abrigo que ponerse }

(33) { (a) Ni una cuerda con la que atar la puerta
(b) Ninguna caja en la que meter el tesoro } fue encontrado/a por Porfirio

{ (c) Nada (*que leer)
(d) Ni un abrigo (*que ponerse) }

' { Not even a rope with which to tie the door
No box in which to put the treasure
Nothing (*to read)
Not even a coat (*to put on) } was found by Porfirio '

IV. If the infinitival construction is dominated by a PP, the head N can be definite; otherwise it cannot:

(34) Ana {no tiene / no pudo encontrar}

(a) {ni un / el} lápiz con el que firmar
(b)
(c) {una / la} toalla con la que secarse
(d)

(e) {ningún / ni un / *el} libro que leer
(f)
(g)

(h) {ningún / ni un / *el} abrigo que ponerse
(i)
(j)

'Anna {doesn't have / couldn't find}

(a) {even a / the} pencil with which to sign
(b)
(c) {a / the} towel to dry herself with
(d)

(e) {any / even a / *the} book to read
(f)
(g)

(h) {any / even a / *the} coat to put on
(i)
(j)

But even tho an NP which contains an infinitival relative not dominated by a PP cannot occur as subject of an S and cannot be passivized, in other respects such constructions behave like NPs. Consider the following examples:

(35) No había ni un libro que leer

'There wasn't even a book to read'

(36) No había ni un libro que valiera la pena

'There wasn't even a book that was worth the trouble'

(37) ¿Qué no había (*que leer)?

'What wasn't there (*to read)?'

(38) ¿Qué no había (*que valiera la pena)?'

'What wasn't there (*that was worth the trouble)?'

It can be seen in (36, 38) that if an NP like ni un libro que valiera la pena is "questioned," the word que occurs instead of the entire NP. The relative clause (que valiera la pena) cannot occur. Similarly, in (35), if ni un libro que leer is "questioned," qué occurs and the phrase que leer cannot.[4] So in this respect ni un libro que leer behaves like the NP ni un libro que valiera la pena. It seems reasonable to conclude that ni un libro que leer is also an NP.

To summarize up to this point, it has been seen that there are certain restrictive relative clauses in which the verb of the relative clause S occurs in the infinitive. There have been seen to be several syntactic differences between infinitival relatives which are dominated by a PP and those which are not. When an NP contains an infinitival relative not dominated by a PP, the NP can occur after only a limited class of verbs, and the matrix sentence must be negative (no haber, no tener, no encontrar, ...). When an NP contains an infinitival relative dominated by a PP, the NP can occur after a wider range of verbs, and the matrix sentence can be either affirmative or negative. If the infinitival relative is dominated by a PP, the NP can be

definite, can occur as subject of a sentence, and can be passivized; otherwise it cannot.

In view of these differences in syntactic behavior between the two types of infinitival relatives, it might be surprising if the only difference between them were the presence or absence of a preposition. However, here I will leave open the question of how these differences are to be accounted for and proceed to a discussion of PRO (-DEF, -HUMAN), which will be seen to occur as head of infinitival relative clauses. I will again consider PRO (-DEF, +HUMAN), which will also be seen to occur as head of infinitival relatives. It will be seen that there are certain similarities between the syntactic behavior of infinitival relatives whose heads are PRO (-DEF, ±HUMAN) and infinitival relatives not dominated by a PP whose heads are lexical nouns.

3.3. PRO (-DEFINITE, -HUMAN)

In the examples I have considered thus far, the head of the infinitival relative construction has been a lexically specified noun. In the following examples the underlying head is understood to be some kind of unspecified PRO.[5]

(39) En ese pueblo no tienen de que vivir

(lit.: In that town they don't have of which to live)

(approx.: 'In that town they don't have anything to live off of')

(40) No encuentro con que arreglar el techo

(lit.: I don't find with COMP to fix the ceiling)

(approx.: 'I don't find anything to fix the ceiling with')

(41) No tengo que ponerme

(lit.: I don't have COMP to put on)

(approx.: 'I don't have anything to put on')

(42) Tenemos que hacer esta tarde

(lit.: We have COMP to do this afternoon')

(approx.: 'We have something to do this afternoon')

(43) Hay que hacer en casa

(lit.: There is COMP to do at home)

(approx.: 'There are things to do at home')

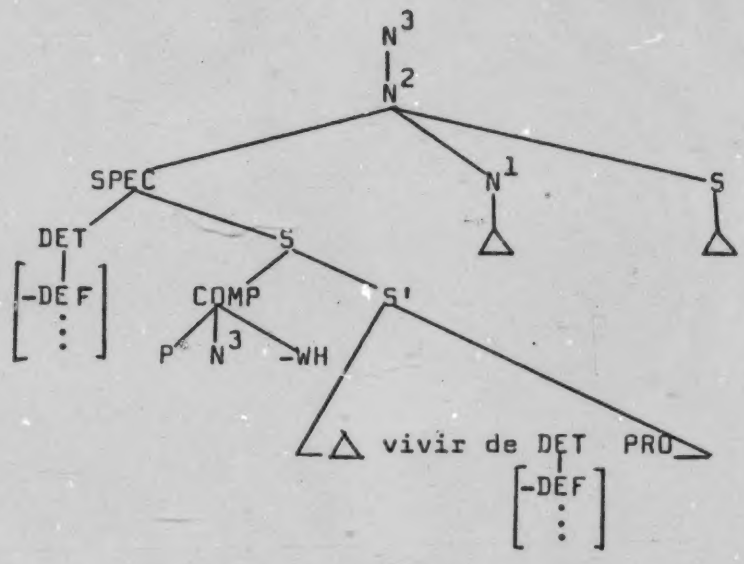
(44) No había que hacer

(lit.: There wasn't COMP to do)

(approx.: 'There wasn't anything to do')

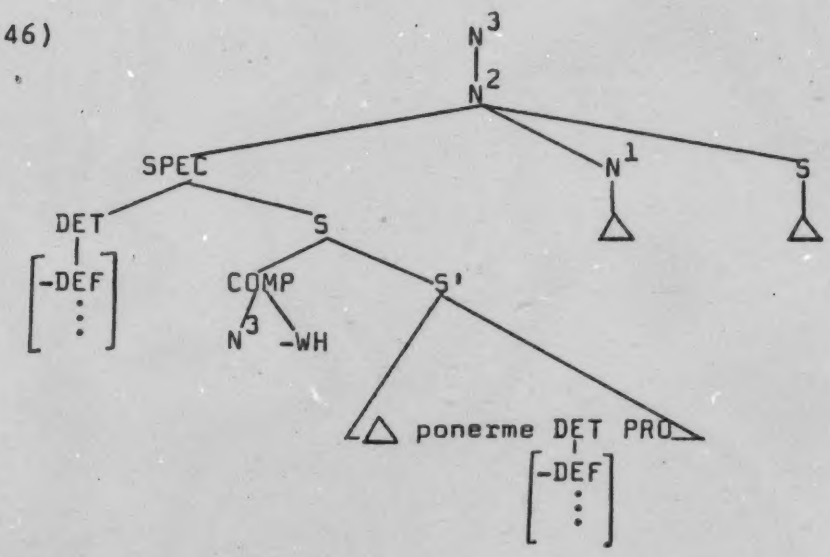
Partial trees for the structures underlying (39) and (41) may be (45) and (46) respectively:[6]

(45)



((39) <u>En ese pueblo no tienen de que vivir</u>)

(46)



((41) <u>No tengo que ponerme</u>)

The PRO in question seems to be indefinite, since it can occur after forms of <u>haber</u>, as can be seen in sentences like (43, 44).

Note that this PRO can occur after only a limited class of verbs, namely (no) tener, (no) haber, (no) encontrar, ... Consider:

(47)(a) No tengo
(b) *Quiero comprar } que ponerme

(48)(a) No hay
*Debes pedir } con que matar las moscas

(Recall that NPs containing infinitival relatives which are not dominated by a PP can occur only after verbs belonging to this same class, and only in a negative matrix sentence.)

It seems that this indefinite PRO is always understood as nonspecific. Note that indefinite NPs which occur after forms of no haber, no tener, no encontrar are always understood as nonspecific. E.g.,[7]

(49) { No hay / encuentro / tengo } { Ø / (ni) un / ningún } lápiz que { sirva (SUBJUNCTIVE) / *sirve (INDICATIVE) }

'{ There isn't / I don't find / I don't have } { (a) / (even) a / any } pencil that will do'

(50) No { había / encontré / tenía } { Ø / (ni) un / ningún } abrigo que { pudiera (SUBJ) / *podía (IND) } prestarme

'{ There wasn't / He didn't find / He didn't find } { (a) / (even) a / any } coat that he could loan me'

It is known that specific indefinite NPs can occur after forms of haber and tener. E.g.,

(51) Aquí { hay / tengo } un lápiz que sirve

'Here { there is / I have } a pencil that will do'

(52) Tenemos que hacer esta tarde

(53) Tenemos que hacer en casa

If it is correct that this PRO is (-DEFINITE, -SPECIFIC), it seems that it is similar to the PRO underlying the free relative quien, which is also (-DEFINITE, -SPECIFIC). But the former is (-HUMAN), and the latter is (+HUMAN).

Observe now that even in sentences like (39, 40), in which the relative clause is dominated by a PP, the appropriate relative form is que, not ART + que. Compare (39, 40), repeated here as (54a, 55a), with (54b, 55b) respectively:

(54)(a) En ese pueblo no tienen de {Ø / *lo} que vivir
(b)

(55)(a) No encuentro con {Ø / *lo} que arreglar el techo
(b)

(54b) and (55b) are ungrammatical because the construction P + lo que cannot occur as object of either (no) encontrar or (no) tener.

Now compare (40), repeated here as (56a), with (56b):

(56)(a) No tengo {Ø / *lo} que ponerme
(b)

In (56b) lo que seems to be ungrammatical here because infinitival relatives not dominated by a preposition must be indefinite, and the underlying PRO here is definite.

In (54a) and (55a) the (-DEF, -HUMAN, -SPECIFIC) PRO is the object of a preposition within the relative clause, and in (56a) it is the object of the verb within the relative clause. In the following examples it can be seen that this

PRO cannot occur as subject of the relative clause:

(57) *No hay que me apetezca

(58) *La religión no tiene que me convenza

Compare (57, 58) with (59, 60) respectively:

(59) No hay nada que me apetezca

'There isn't anything that appeals to me'

(60) La religión no tiene nada que me convenza

'Religion doesn't have anything that convinces me'

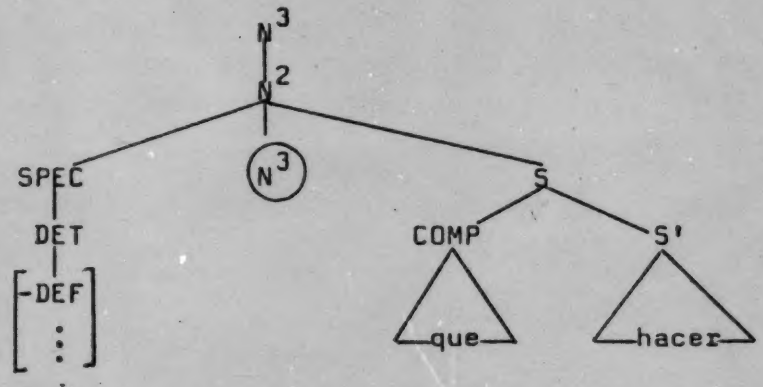
It seems that the (-DEFINITE, -HUMAN) PRO can never occur in subject position. For clearly it can't ever be subject of a matrix sentence, either:

(61) *Que hacer es difícil de encontrar

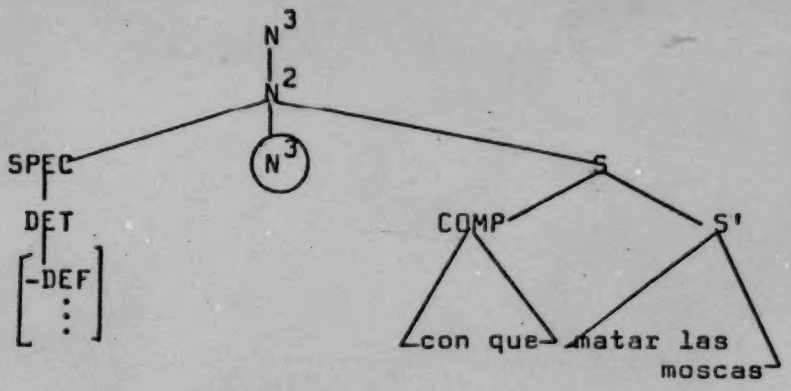
(62) *Con que matar las moscas es difícil de encontrar

Presumably the partial surface structures which would be involved in (61, 62) would be represented approximately as (63, 64) respectively:

(63)



(64)



(The (N3) in (63, 64) has no surface realization.)

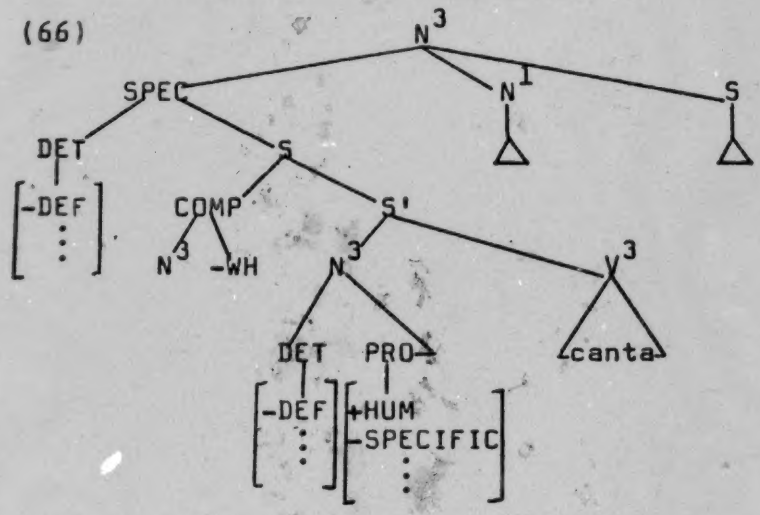
In 3.4 I will suggest that quien in free relatives is a relative form and that its antecedent has no surface realization. This quien would be dominated by COMP. But such a structure would differ from those represented in (63, 64) in that the leftmost element in COMP would be an NP. It seems, then, that the first element of the surface subject of an S can be a quantifier (e.g., Todos (los hombres) no piensan como tú), a DET (e.g., El que llegue primero se llevará el premio), or a noun. In some cases (e.g., in that of quien) the noun can occur under COMP. But the first element of a surface subject cannot be the complementizer when it functions as a relative form (as in 63)[8], nor can it be a preposition (as in (64)). The ungrammaticality of P + lo que in subject position discussed in 2.1 is also due to the fact that a surface subject cannot have a preposition as its first element.

3.4. PRO (-DEFINITE, +HUMAN)

In this section I will continue the discussion of the PRO (-DEF, +HUMAN) which was first discussed in 2.2. In all of the examples which were discussed in 2.2 quien occurred as surface subject of the matrix sentence, and the underlying PRO occurred as subject of the relative clause as well. E.g. consider (65) and its partial underlying structure (66):

(65) Quien canta su mal espanta

(66)



(In this respect the (-DEFINITE, +HUMAN) PRO differs from the (-DEFINITE, -HUMAN) PRO, since the latter cannot occur in subject position, neither in the matrix S nor in the relative clause S, for reasons discussed at the end of 3.3.)

Now consider sentences like the following, in which the (-DEF, +HUMAN) PRO occurs as object of a preposition within the relative clause S and is promoted to the position of

object of the matrix verb:

(67)(a) María no tiene en {quien} confiar
(b) {*el que}

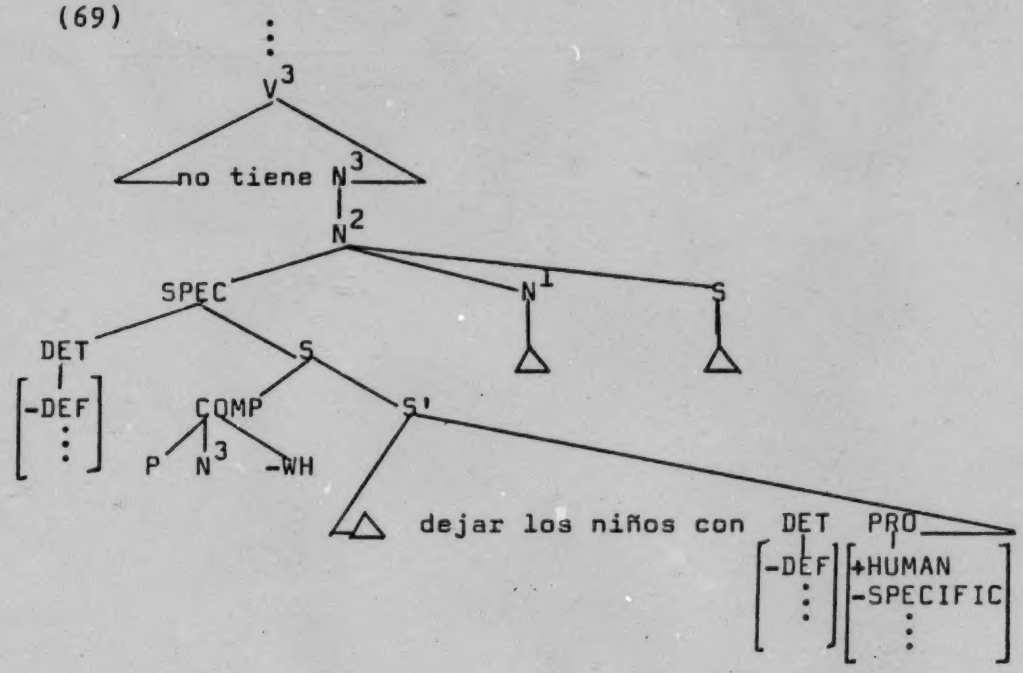
(68)(a) Mario no tiene con {quien} dejar los niños
{*el que}

(lit.: Mario doesn't have with whom to leave the children)

(approx.: 'Mario doesn't have anyone with whom to leave the children')

The partial underlying structure for (68) is (69):

(69)



It can be seen in (69) that in underlying structure no preposition occurred before the object of tener. Note the ungrammaticality of the preposition in parenthesis in (70):

(70) María no tiene (*en) nadie en quien confiar

'Maria doesn't have (*in) anybody in whom to trust'

I suggest that quien is a relative pronoun in (67) and (68), as well as in (70).

Recall that it has been seen in Chapter 1 that quien is the relative pronoun which sometimes occurs after a preposition in appositive relatives whose antecedent is a (+HUMAN) proper noun or personal pronoun. E.g.,

(71) {El / Juan}, por quien todos preguntaban, se había escapado

Sentences like (70), as well as (72, 73), show that quien is also the relative pronoun which occurs after a preposition in certain restrictive clauses:

(72)(a) No tienen a nadie con quien confesarse
(b) ?*el que
(c) *la que

'They don't have anybody to whom to confess'

(73)(a) Conocemos a alguien con quien dejar el niño
(b) ?*el que
(c) *la que

'We know someone with whom to leave the child'

Note that the (b) sentences don't seem to be as bad as the (c) sentences. The reason appears to be that el que seems less marked, but la que is clearly too specified to occur with a head noun like nadie or alguien.[9]

The head nouns in both (72) and (73), nadie and alguien, share features with the PRO I'm discussing. All are (-DEF, +HUMAN, -GENDER, -SPECIFIED, +PRO). Since in both of the last two examples quien is the relative form generated by the grammar, this could lend support to the idea that in Ss like (67, 68) quien is also a relative form. I conclude,

then, that in (67, 68) quien is a relative pronoun whose underlying head noun, PRO, has no surface realization.

Returning now to the question of quien when it occurs in surface subject position, i.e. in sentences like (65), repeated below as (74),

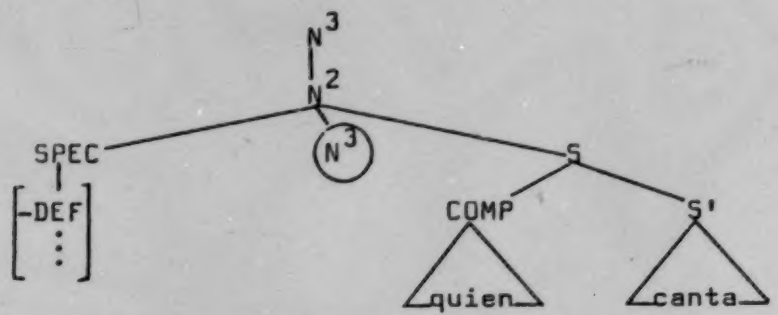
(74) Quien canta su mal espanta

the same analysis can be applied to quien here. I suggest that quien be considered as a relative form, and that the underlying head noun, PRO, has no surface realization. I.e.,

(75) PRO quien canta su mal espanta

Quien, then, is the relative form which always occurs when the underlying head noun is PRO (-DEFINITE, +HUMAN). The surface structure of the subject in (74) may be represented approximately as (76):

(76)



(Again, the (N3) has no surface realization.)

As in the case of the (-DEFINITE, -HUMAN) PRO, the (-DEFINITE, +HUMAN) PRO can occur only after a certain class of verbs, namely no haber, no tener, ...:

(78)(a) {No tenemos} a quien dirigirnos
(b) {*No conocemos}

(approx.: {We don't have} anyone to turn to')
{We don't know}

(79)(a) {No había} con quien jugar
(b) {*No veíamos}

(approx.: {There wasn't} anybody to play with')
{We didn't see}

(80)(a) {No hay} quien te soporte
(b) {*No conozco a}

(approx.: {There isn't} anyone who puts up
{I don't know} with you')

But note that if a lexical noun occurs as the head, rather than PRO, the matrix verb is not limited to verbs of this class:

(81) No conocemos a nadie a quien dirigirnos

'We don't know anyone to turn to'

(82) No veíamos a nadie con quien jugar

'We didn't see anybody to play with'

(83)(a) No conozco {ni a una persona} que te soporte
{a nadie}

'I don't know {even one person} who puts up
{anybody}
with you'

(Recall that in sentences in which there is a head noun in surface structure, NPs containing an infinitival relative construction not dominated by a PP can occur only after this same limited class of matrix verbs; but if the relative clause is dominated by a PP the matrix verbs are not restricted to those of this class.)

As in the case of the (-DEFINITE, -HUMAN) PRO, the infinitive always occurs in surface structure in the relative clause when the (-DEFINITE, +HUMAN) PRO is the object of a verb or of a preposition within the relative clause S:

OBJECT OF PREPOSITION:

(84)(a) Martín no tiene con quien { platicar / *platique }
(b)

(approx.: 'Martin doesn't have anybody to chat with')

OBJECT OF VERB:

(85)(a) Eulalia no tiene a quien { contar / *cuente } sus penas
(b)

(approx.: 'Eulalia doesn't have anybody to tell her troubles to')

If the (-DEFINITE, +HUMAN) PRO occurs as object of a preposition within the relative clause, it cannot occur as subject of the matrix S:

(86) *Con quien confesarse vendrá a las tres

(87) *Con quien dejar los niños no es fácil de encontrar

Compare:

(88) Una persona con la que confesarse vendrá a las tres

'A person to whom to confess will come at 3:00'

(89) Una persona con la que dejar los niños no es fácil de encontrar

'A person with whom to leave the children is not easy to find'

An explanation for the ungrammaticality of strings like (86, 87) was suggested at the end of 3.3, namely, that the

first element of the surface subject can never be a preposition.

If the (-DEFINITE, +HUMAN) PRO occurs as object of the verb within the relative clause S, it cannot occur as subject of the matrix S:

(90) *(A) Quien consultar no viene por aquí nunca

(91) *(A) Quien mandar a la farmacia vendrá por la tarde

The fact that (90, 91) are ungrammatical is not surprising, since indefinite NPs which contain infinitival relatives not dominated by a PP cannot occur in surface subject position when the head of the construction is a lexical noun, either:

(92)(a) {*Nadie} que consultar viene por aquí
(b) {*Ni una persona} nunca

But note that even if the relative clause is not infinitival, quien still cannot occur as subject of an S if the relativized NP is object of the verb:

(93) *Quien consultes te podrá aconsejar mejor que yo

Compare:

(94) Cualquier persona que consultes te podrá aconsejar mejor que yo

'Any person that you consult will be able to advise you better than I'

It seems, then, that the (-DEFINITE, +HUMAN) PRO can be subject of the matrix S only if it is also the subject of the relative clause S. E.g., consider the following lines by Meléndez, which are quoted by Bello (S. 332). Both times quien occurs as the underlying PRO and in each case is under-

stood as subject of both the matrix S and the relative clause S:

(95) Las virtudes son severas,
Y la verdad es amarga
Quien te la dice te estima
Y quien te adula te agravia

(Cf.: La persona que te la dice te estima, y la persona que te adula te agravia.)

3.5. Summary

The following chart compares the syntactic behavior of the (-DEFINITE, -HUMAN) PRO with that of the (-DEFINITE, +HUMAN) PRO:

(96)

	I. (-HUMAN)	II. (+HUMAN)
A. Subject of relative S:	no	yes
B. Object of relative S:	yes	yes
C. Object of P in relative S:	yes	yes
D. Subject of matrix S:	no	yes (only if PRO is subject of relative S)

In summary, the (-DEFINITE, +HUMAN) PRO differs from the (-DEFINITE, -HUMAN) PRO in that the former can be subject of a relative clause; and provided that it is the subject of the relative clause, it can be promoted to subject position in the matrix S.

The following examples illustrate the properties listed on chart (96):

I.A: (97) *No hay que me apetezca

(98) *No tenían que me interesara

II.A: (99) No hay quien te soporte

(100) No hay quien trabaje por tan poco dinero

I.B: (101) No había que hacer

II.B: (102) No había a quien consultar

I.C: (103) No había de que hablar

II.C: (104) No había de quien fiarse

I.D: (105) *Que hacer no es fácil de encontrar

(106) *De que vivir no es fácil de conseguir

II.D: (107) *Quien consultes te dirá que esto no tiene remedio

(Cf.: Cualquier persona que cons ltes...)

(108) *Con quien hables te podrá iluminar más que yo

(Cf.: Cualquier persona con la que hables...)

(109) Quien quebranta la ley sufrirá las consecuencias

In Chapters 2 and 3 I have discussed four different PROs: PRO (+DEFINITE, -HUMAN), PRO (+DEFINITE, +HUMAN), PRO (-DEFINITE, -HUMAN), and PRO (-DEFINITE, +HUMAN). The information which I have presented concerning their various surface forms is summarized in the following chart:

(110)

UNDERLYING HEAD	SURFACE FORM	
	A. AFTER A PREP	B. ELSEWHERE
I.PRO (+DEF,-HUMAN)	lo que	lo que
II.PRO (+DEF,+HUMAN)	(not possible; see 2.1)	el que
III.PRO (-DEF,-HUMAN)	que	que
IV.PRO (-DEF,+HUMAN)	quien	quien

The following examples illustrate the various possibilities given in chart (110):

I.A: (111) No recuerdo de lo que se habló

'I don't remember what was talked about'

I.B: (112) Haré lo que tú digas

'I'll do what(ever) you say'

II.A: (113) *Juan es en el que me apoyo

II.B: (114) El que llegó primero se llevó el premio

'The one who arrived first carried off the prize'

III.A: (115) No hay que hacer

(approx.: 'There's nothing to do')

III.B: (116) No había de que vivir

(approx.: 'There was nothing to live off of')

IV.A: (117) No había de quien fiarse

(approx.: 'There was nobody to trust')

IV.B: (118) Quien canta su mal espanta

'Whoever sings scares off his troubles'

This chapter began with a discussion of infinitival relatives. Later it was seen that PRO (-DEFINITE, -HUMAN) and PRO (-DEFINITE, +HUMAN) can sometimes occur as heads of infinitival relative clauses. The following chart summarizes the information on infinitival relative clauses which has been discussed in this chapter. It will be seen that, according to the syntactic behavior discussed in the chart, the infinitival relatives can be separated into two categories: those whose head is a lexical noun and which are dominated by a PP, on the one hand, and those whose head is a lexical noun and which are not dominated by a PP, and those whose head is PRO (-DEFINITE, ±HUMAN), on the other. The syntactic behavior of the two types of infinitival relatives will be seen to differ in several important respects.

(119)

I. RELATIVES NP IS A LEXICAL NOUN AND IS OBJECT OF PREP WITHIN RELATIVE CLAUSE S	II. RELATIVIZED NP IS EITHER A LEXICAL NOUN WHICH IS OBJECT OF VERB WITHIN RELATIVE CLAUSE S; OR PRO (-DEF, ±HUMAN)
A. Can be (±DEF)	A. Can be only (-DEF)
B. Can be subject of matrix S	B. Cannot be subject of matrix S
C. Can be object of a wide variety of matrix verbs	C. Can be object of limited class of matrix verbs

Sentences which illustrate each of the aspects of syntactic behavior mentioned on the chart are given below:

I.A: (120) Estoy buscando $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{un}\\\text{el}\end{matrix}\right\}$ cubo en el que meter la basura

I.B: (121) No tenía { *lo PRO / Ø PRO / { ni un / ningún / *el } abrigo } que ponerse

(122) No tenía con { quien / *el que } jugar

II.A: (123) Las tijeras con las cortarte el pelo están en el armario

II.B: (124) Un abrigo (*que ponerse) llegó por correo

(125) *Que hacer es difícil de encontrar

(126) *(A) Quien consultar es difícil de encontrar

III.A: (127) { Estoy buscando / Han pedido / Me habían prestado / Juan ha perdido } los juguetes con los que entretener a los niños

III.B: (128) No { tengo / había / encontró } { { ni un abrigo / Ø } que ponerse / { a nadie / Ø } en quien confiar }

(129) { *Está buscando / *Necesita / *Quiere encontrar } { { un abrigo / Ø } que ponerse / en quien confiar }

I am unable to account for the differences in syntactic behavior between infinitival relatives whose head is a lexical noun which are dominated by a PP and whose which are not. However, it is interesting to note that there are a number of similarities between the syntactic behavior of infinitival relatives whose head is PRO (-DEFINITE, ±HUMAN) and those whose head is a lexical noun and which are not dominated by a PP. It seems possible that these latter structures may share some property with those whose head is an indefinite PRO, but at this time I won't pursue the matter any further.

Footnotes to Chapter 3

1. The sign # here indicates semantic deviance.

2. Cuervo, in his notes to Bello's Gramática, refers to the use of the infinitive in sentences such as the ones under discussion as "equivalente del subjuntivo latino." (Note 134) He makes the following observations:

> En castellano antiguo es común el giro latino, y aun en Cervantes se halla: "E si non ovieren onde lo paguen, cada uno dellos reciba CL azotes" (Fuero Juzgo, 6.4.2). "Non podia aver ninguna cosa que comiese" (Conde Lucanor, 34). "Buscaste corriendo donde te ascondiesses" (Marqués de Santillana). "En estas y otras pláticas les tomó la noche en mitad del camino, sin tener ni descubrir dónde aquella noche se recogiesen" (Cervantes, Quij., I, 19). Pero el giro castellano es muy antiguo: "Toto homine qui calumnia habuerit a pectare a los fiadores et non habuerit unde pectare" (Fuero de Madrid, año 1202). Non abui cende pectare ipsum furtum (instrum. de 998, en Escalona p. 434). Diez y Rönsch (Itala und Vulgata, p. 430), citan más ejemplos del latín vulgar. (Fn. to note 70)

3. It should be noted that while the English glosses of sentences like (26e-h) appear acceptable, it is not clear that what is involved in English is a comparable infinitival construction. E.g., note that a cake to eat would be translated not as una tarta que comer, but rather as una tarta para comer. This same remark applies equally to the glosses of (29).

4. Actually (37) could be grammatical on another reading, in which the answer could be as follows:

No había que leer el último capítulo

But this is of no concern here. The point is that if the NP in (35) is questioned, que leer cannot occur in surface structure.

5. Bello writes the following:

> Pero no deben confundirse con estas frases elípticas aquellas en que después del verbo haber o tener viene un infinitivo precedido de que, perdiendo este neutro su oficio de relativo y haciéndose como un mero artículo del infinitivo: "No hay que avergonzarte," (esto es, no debes, deja de, avergonzarte); "Tengo que escribir varias cartas," (esto es, debo, tengo precisión de escribir). Así haber o tener que, seguido de infinitivo, es a veces una frase elíptica, a veces no: hay que escribir, significará, según los varios casos, hay algo que escribir, o es preciso escribir, y tengo que contar, equivale ya a tengo cosas que contar, ya a tengo precisión de contar: duplicidad de sentidos que no cabe sino cuando el que puede ser acusativo del infinitivo. (S. 1107)

Note that in the examples given by Bello, as well as in the examples which I will discuss in this chapter, que is unstressed.

6. I'm assuming here that the underlying subject of infinitival relatives is $\triangle$, altho a presentation of the arguments in favor of this position would be beyond the scope of this chapter.

7. The question of NPs with the Ø determiner will be taken up in Chapter 4.

Chapter 4.

4.1. (+INDIVIDUAL) NPs

In a study entitled "Estilística y gramática del artículo en español," Amado Alonso contrasts nouns which are preceded by the indefinite article with nouns which are not preceded by a determiner in surface structure. He states that the use of a noun phrase without an article in certain instances emphasizes "el lado cualitativo del objeto como punto de atención diferente del objeto mismo" (169). How do such NPs differ from those in which the indefinite article occurs? According to Modern Spanish, in some cases the use of the indefinite article, as opposed to instances in which no determiner occurs in surface structure, may serve to "individualize" the following noun (S. 85).

Put differently, some noun phrases without an overt determiner designate a property or quality, rather than an individual, while a noun phrase with an overt determiner designates a set.

Noun phrases without an article are what Kuno refers to as "nonreferential" or "property" noun phrases. According to Kuno, a nonreferential property noun phrase is one that "indicates a property, and not an individual object in the universe of discourse" (353). These NPs, then, are never referential, i.e. they do not establish a referent in the universe of discourse. E.g., the underlined NPs in the sentences which follow are property NPs:

8. Tho it is known that the complementizer can be the first element in a surface subject if the surface subject is an S, e.g.,

    Que llegue tarde no me importa.

9. This was pointed out to me by Otero.

(1) María es médico

(lit.: Mary is doctor)

(2) Alfonso llevaba abrigo

(lit.: Alfonso was wearing coat)

(3) Marta y Tomás son profesores

'Martha and Thomas are professors'

(4) Elena es lingüista

(lit.: Elena is linguist)

Property NPs occur frequently as predicatives. However, in (5) below the underlined property NP occurs as subject of the sentence:[1]

(5) Obreros construyeron este edificio

'Workers built this building'

Compare (5) with (6) and (7). In the latter two sentences the underlined NPs designate not a property but a set:

(6) Los obreros construyeron este edificio

'The workers built this building'

(7) Unos obreros construyeron este edificio

'Some workers built this building'

Rivero's remarks ("Referential Properties of Spanish Noun Phrases") may clarify the difference between (6) and (7). She notes that definite NPs may "exhibit co-extensiveness with the set having the property expressed by the relative clause" (36), and that in singular NPs "uniqueness is connected with the definite article" (33). But "non-definite NPs in general do not indicate co-extensiveness" (36).

The subjects in sentences like (6) and (7) have referents in the universe of discourse, but the subject in a sentence like (5) does not. Note that (5), but not (6) or (7), is semantically similar to (8), in which the underlined NP is clearly a nonreferential property NP:

(8) Los que construyeron este edificio eran obreros

The idea that the indefinite article serves to individualize the noun which follows it, along with the idea that the NP without an article designates a property or a class, may explain the difference between examples like (9, 10) and (11, 12):

(9) No tengo lápiz

(lit.: I don't have pencil)

(10) No tengo un lápiz

'I don't have a pencil'

(11) Estoy buscando lápiz

(lit.: I'm looking for pencil)

(12) Estoy buscando un lápiz

'I'm looking for a pencil'

If it is accepted that in such cases a singular count noun preceded by the indefinite article is individualized, while a singular count noun which has no determiner in surface structure designates a property or a class, this may explain the strangeness of the words in parentheses in sentences like (13, 14), in contrast with (15, 16):

(13) (*Aquí) tengo lápiz

(lit.: (here) I have pencil)

(14) Tengo lápiz (*en la mano)

(lit.: I have pencil (in the hand)

(15) Aquí tengo un lápiz

'Here I have a pencil'

(16) Tengo un lápiz en la mano

'I have a pencil in my hand'

I will tentatively suggest that the feature (+INDIVIDUAL) accounts for the difference between such NPs. From the examples considered thus far, the crucial difference at the surface level seems to be whether the count noun is preceded by the indefinite article, or whether no determiner occurs before it. [2]

I suggest then that one respect in which singular count nouns with no determiner in surface structure differ from singular count nouns with the indefinite article is that the former are (-IND), while the latter are (+IND).[3] Although various authors have suggested that NPs without a surface determiner are (-DEF), (e.g., Alonso, Ramsey), I will leave the question open for now, and return to it in 4.5.

Compare the following sentences:

(17) No tengo lápiz

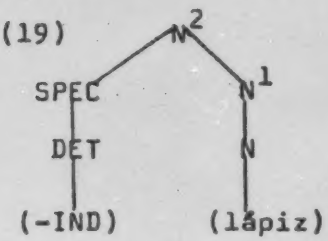
(lit.: I don't have pencil)

(18) No tengo un lápiz

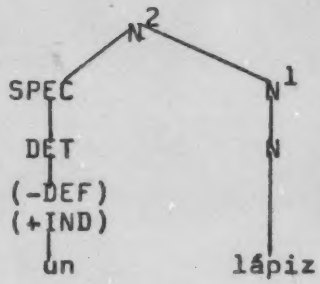
'I don't have a pencil'

The respective deep structures for the NPs in (17) and (18) are (19) and (20):

(19)



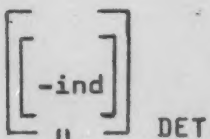
(20)



If the node DET dominates the feature (-IND), as in (19), no determiner will occur before a singular count head noun in surface structure. But if the node DET dominates the features (-DEF, +IND), as in (20), the surface structure determiner will be un.

It seems correct, then, to formulate the following rules:

(21)(a)

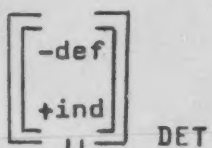


underlying structure

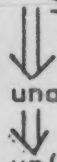
morphological level

surface structure

(b)



underlying structure



morphological level

surface structure

The feature (IND) is distinct from the feature (SPECIFIC). In both (22) and (23) lápiz is nonspecific, but in (22) it is (-IND) and in (23) it is (+IND):

(22) No tengo lápiz que valga (-IND,-SPEC)

(23) No tengo (ni) un lápiz que valga (+IND,-SPEC)

And in (24, 25) tema is (+SPEC), but in (24) it is (-IND) and in (25) it is (+IND);

(24) Ya elegimos tema del que hablar (-IND,+SPEC)

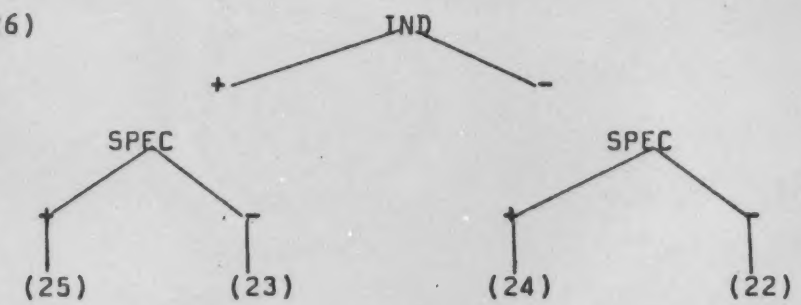
(lit.: We already picked topic about which to speak)

(25) Ya elegimos un tema del que hablar (+IND,+SPEC)

'We already picked a topic about which to speak

The redundancy rules which account for the features in these examples may be diagrammed as follows:

(26)



I have suggested that in Spanish a singular count noun which has no determiner in surface structure is (-IND). Observe now that in English singular count nouns must generally be preceded by a determiner in surface structure. E.g., compare the following Spanish sentences with their English translations:

(27)(a) Alberto es { payaso } (i.e. he works in the circus)
(b) { un payaso } (i.e. he acts silly)

(28)(a) Alberto is { *Ø clown }
(b) { a clown }

(29)(a) Cerraron el armario con { llave }
(b) { una llave }
(c) { la llave }

(30)(a) They closed the closed with { *Ø key }
(b) { a key }
(c) { the key }

It can be seen that there is no unambiguous translation for the (a) sentences in English. E.g., both (27a) and (27b) are generally translated in English as 'Albert is a clown.'[4]

4.2. Relative clauses with (-IND) NPs

Note that count nouns which are not preceded by an overt determiner in surface structure cannot be modified by appositive relative clauses which begin with ART + cual:

(31) El profesor llevaba abrigo, (*el cual era de lana)

(lit.: The professor was wearing coat, (which was woolen))

(32) El profesor llevaba un abrigo, el cual era de lana

'The professor was wearing a coat, which was woolen'

(33) Mario cerró la puerta con llave, (*la cual era de oro)

(lit.: Mario closed the door with key, (which was of gold))

(34) Mario cerró la puerta con una llave, la cual era de oro

'Mario closed the door with a key, which was [made] of gold'

(35) María firmó el contrato con lápiz, (*el cual había sido un regalo de su abuelo)

(lit.: Mary signed the contract with pencil, (which had been a gift from her grandfather))

(36) María firmó el contrato con un lápiz, el cual había sido un regalo de su abuelo

'Mary signed the contract with a pencil, which had been a gift from her grandfather'

Recall that (-IND) NPs do not designate a particular referent, but rather a property or a quality. This may explain why (-IND) NPs cannot include appositive relatives with cual, since, as has been pointed out by Otero, cual picks out one of a set.[5]

The ungrammaticality of the appositive relative clauses in sentences such as (31-36) may be related to the lack of felicity of the sentences below (the pairs of sentences represent discourse):

(37) El profesor llevaba abrigo. #El abrigo era de lana.

(38) Mario cerró la puerta con llave. #La llave era de oro.

(39) María firmó el contrato con lápiz. #El lápiz había sido un regalo de su abuelo.

An explanation of the strangeness of the second sentence in each of the examples (37-39) has been suggested by Kuno. He notes that a noun phrase which is coreferential with a preceding noun phrase which has a referent can be definite (356). E.g., the following sentences seem perfectly natural:

(40) El profesor llevaba un abrigo. El abrigo era de lana.

(41) Mario cerró la puerta con una llave. La llave era de oro.

(42) María firmó el contrato con un lápiz. El lápiz había sido un regalo de su abuelo.

But since nonreferential property noun phrases do not establish, linguistically, the presence of a referent in the universe of discourse, a definite noun phrase which occurs after such an NP is not understood to be coreferential with it. This would explain the strangeness of the second sentence in each of the examples (37-49).[6]

Now note the following sentences (first pointed out to me by Otero):

(43)(a) Pepe es médico, *que / (b) lo que / (c) *lo cual Luis es también

(lit.: Pepe is doctor, which Luis is too)

(44)(a) Juan es caballero, *que / (b) lo que / (c) *lo cual su hermano no es

(lit.: John is gentleman, which his brother is not)

(45)(a) Ya tenemos tema, *que / (b) lo que / (c) *lo cual Pepe tiene también

(lit.: We already have topic, which Pepe has too)

These examples contain appositive relatives. But note that the relative form which occurs here is lo que, not que or lo cual. It seems that the appositive clauses in (43-45) could be paraphrased as (46-48) respectively:

(46) Luis es médico también

(47) Su hermano no es caballero

(48) Pepe tiene tema también

I.e., it seems that in these examples lo que can be paraphrased by a property NP which is (-IND). As has been previously noted, such NPs are always non-referential.

It is interesting to note that lo cual cannot occur in sentences like (43-45). (Recall that cual is also ungrammatical in sentences like (31, 33, 35), e.g., El profesor llevaba abrigo, (*el cual era de lana).) The explanation for the ungrammaticality of cual here would seem to be the same as the explanation offered in connection with (31, 33, 35), namely that the (-IND) NPs designate not a particular referent but rather a property, while cual picks out one of a set.

Now consider the following examples:

(49) Me dieron una buena recomendación, (a) lo que / (b) la cual / (c) lo cual

me hacía mucha falta

(49a, b, c) could be paraphrased as (50a, b, c) respectively:

(50) Me dieron una buena recomendación

(a) y una buena recomendación me hacía mucha falta

(b) y la (i.e. esa) buena recomendación me hacía mucha falta

(c) y me hacía mucha falta que me dieran una buena recomendación

Similarly, sentences like (51a, b) could be paraphrased as (52a, b) respectively:[7]

(51) Juan se compró un sillón, (a) {lo que / (b) el cual} yo le había recomendado que se comprara

(52) Juan se compró un sillón,

(a) y yo le había recomendado que se comprara uno

(b) y yo le había recomendado que se comprara el (i.e. ese) sillón

When lo que occurs there is understood to be identity of sense between it and its antecedent; when ART + cual occurs there is understood to be identity of reference between it and its antecedent. E.g., (51a) means that I had recommended to John that he buy a chair, i.e. any member of the set denoted by chair, and that he bought the same type of object that I had recommended. But (51b) means that John bought the same chair which I had recommended that he buy. In (51a) I had not recommended a specific chair, but in (51b) I had.

The fact that when ART + cual occurs there is understood to be identity of reference between ART + cual and its antecedent is compatible with the idea that ART + cual means roughly 'the aforementioned' (see Chapter 1).

The fact that when lo que occurs there is understood to be identity of sense but not of reference between it and its antecedent is compatible with the occurrence of lo que after property NPs (as in (43-45)), since such NPs do not establish a referent.

Now note that the English translations for sentences like (49a, b, c) and (51a, b) are ambiguous. E.g., all

three sentences of (49) would be translated as (53):

(53) They gave me a good recommendation, which I really needed

(53), then, displays a three-way ambiguity. It could be paraphrased as (54a, b, c):

(54) They gave me a good recommendation,

(a) and I really needed a good recommendation

(b) and I really needed the good recommendation

(c) and I really needed them to give me a good recommendation

(54a, b, c) are the translations of (50a, b, c) respectively. As can be seen by comparing (49a, b, c) with (53), Spanish avoids this ambiguity because of the greater number of relative forms which are available in such cases. English which here corresponds to lo que, la cual, and lo cual.

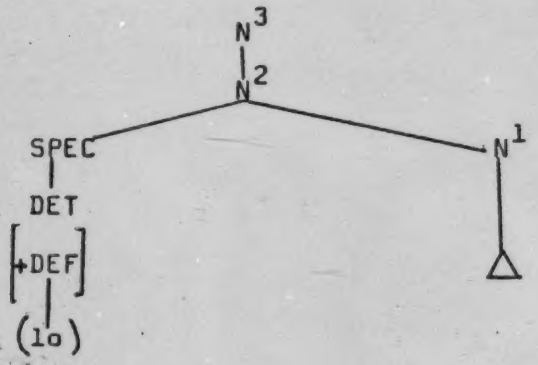
I won't enter with any detail into the question of exactly what underlies lo que. However, it seems plausible that the underlying head is a △. There is understood to be identity of sense between this △ and its antecedent, but not identity of reference.

Recall that when the appositive relative form is ART + cual, the head noun can occur in the relative clause in surface structure (see Chapter I). E.g., in a sentence like (51b) the noun sillón can occur twice in surface structure, once as the head noun, and once in the relative clause, as can be seen in (55):

(55) Juan se compró un sillón, el cual (sillón) yo le había recomendado que se comprara

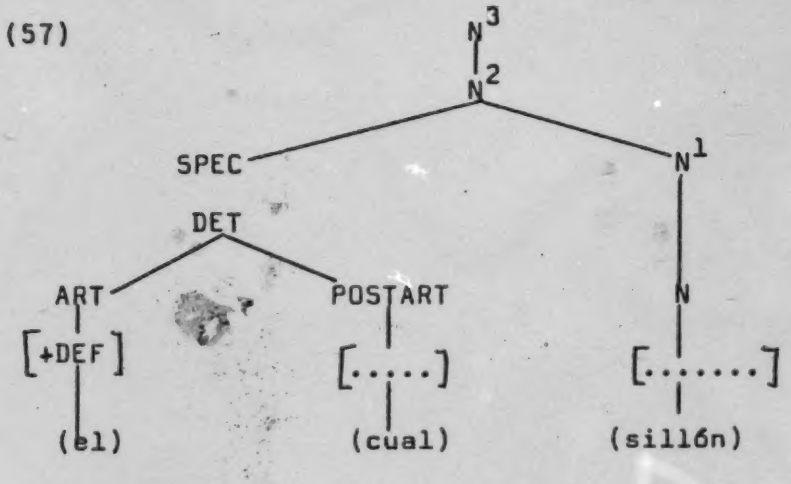
This may suggest that the noun sillón occurred in the structure underlying the appositive relative clause in (55) as well. But in appositive relatives in which lo que is the surface relative form, it seems unlikely that a surface noun occurred as head of the structure underlying lo que. Unlike the article which precedes cual in appositive relatives which are not sentential, the article lo does not agree in number or gender with that of the antecedent of the relative clause. This fact is compatible with the idea that the head in such cases is △. Trees (56) and (57) represent the underlying structures of the relativized NPs in (51a) and (55) respectively:

(56)



((51a) Juan se compró un sillón, lo que yo le había recomendado que se comprara

(57)



((55) Juan se compró un sillón, el cual yo le había recomendado que se comprara)

(The items in parentheses are not in deep structure, but are inserted later.)

To summarize thus far, lo que is the appositive relative form which occurs after antecedents which are property NPs. It can sometimes occur after other indefinite antecedents which are not property NPs as well (e.g. (49a), (51a)). There is understood to be identity of sense between lo que and its antecedent, but not identity of reference. I have suggested that the head which underlies lo que may be a $\triangle$. The article of the relative, lo, does not agree in number or gender with that of its antecedent.

When ART + cual occurs in appositive relatives which are not sentential, there is understood to be identity of reference between it and its antecedent. I have suggested that in underlying structure the noun which is the head of the relativized noun phrase is nondistinct from and core-

ferent with the noun which is its antecedent. The article which occurs before cual in surface structure must agree in number and gender with that of its head, and thus the number and gender of the article are the same as that of the antecedent, since in underlying structure the relativized noun is nondistinct from the head noun.

If the antecedent is (-IND), lo que is the only possible appositive relative form. If the antecedent is (+DEF, +IND), only ART + cual can occur. After a (-DEF, +IND) antecedent, either lo que or ART + cual can occur. This information is summarized in the chart in (58):

(58)	ANTECEDENT	APPOSITIVE RELATIVE FORM
(a)	(-IND)	lo que
(b)	(+DEF, +IND)	ART + cual
(c)	(-DEF, +IND)	lo que; ART + cual

Lo cual is the form which occurs in sentential relatives.[8]

Note that in every case the relative form must be (+DEF). This seems obvious from the fact that in every case a form of the definite article occurs in surface structure (lo que, lo cual, el cual, la cual, etc.).

In the following sections I will discuss the derivation of restrictive relative clauses. The question of the value of the feature (DEFINITE) of the relative form will be once again considered.

4.3. Deep structures and surface structures of restrictive relatives

Note that it is the restrictive relative forms which occur after a preposition which reveal the most. When the restrictive clause is not dominated by a prepositional phrase, at the surface level the form which occurs at the beginning of the relative clause is always que, the complementizer, regardless of the nature of the matrix determiner:

(59) No encuentro tema (*el) que me interese

(lit.: I don't find topic that interests me)

(60) No encuentro un tema (*el) que me interese

'I don't find a topic that interests me'

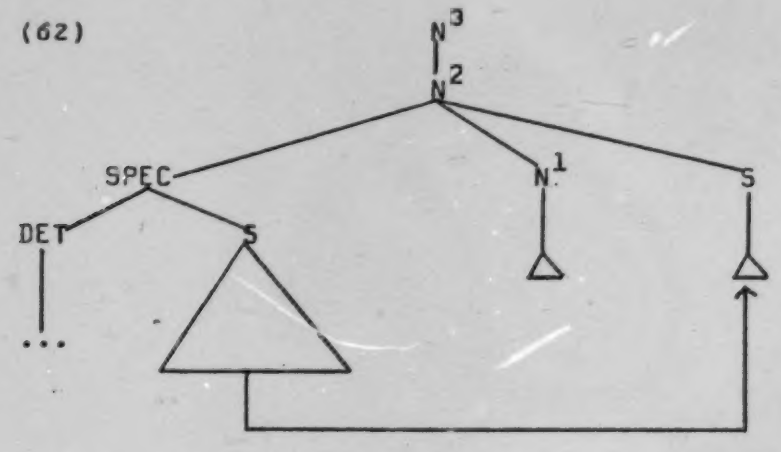
(61) Estoy investigando el tema (*el) que más me interesa

'I'm investigating the topic that most interests me'

However, it seems reasonable to believe that the deep structure relationships which are found to exist between the matrix determiner and the determiner of the relativized noun phrase will also hold when it is not dominated by a prepositional phrase, even tho in the latter case no direct evidence concerning the determiner of the relativized NP is provided by the surface structure. I will thus assume in what follows that the generalizations I formulate concerning the matrix DET and the DET of the relativized NP which apply to restrictive relatives dominated by a PP will also apply to those not dominated by a PP.

Vergnaud (French Relative Clauses) suggests that the underlying structure of a restrictive relative clause looks like structure (62):

(62)



He assumes that the restrictive relative clause S originates in the specifier of the head noun phrase and that it is moved to the end of the matrix NP by a Structure Preserving Extraposition Transformation (see arrow in (62). According to Vergnaud, during the course of the derivation the relativized NP is promoted from the relative clause S to the △ which occurs under N^1.

I will assume that the promotional analysis is correct. Note that one important difference between restrictive and appositive relatives, then, is that in the former the lexical head noun occurs only once in deep structure. It originates within the relative clause and is inserted under △ in the matrix noun phrase. In appositive relatives it appears that the same lexical noun occurs <u>twice</u> in deep structure, once as the matrix noun and once as the relativized noun. Recall

that this belief seems justified by the fact that the relative noun can occur in the appositive clause in surface structure. E.g.,

(63) Juan se compró un sillón, el cual sillón ....

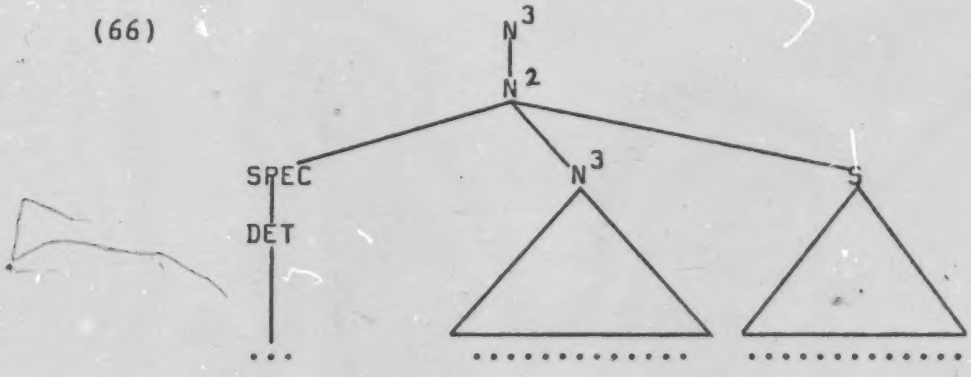
On the other hand, the idea that the noun which is the surface head of a restrictive relative is promoted from out of the relative clause to its surface position is consistent with the fact that in restrictive relatives the head noun cannot be repeated in the relative clause:

(64) Juan se compró un sillón que (*sillón) había visto en el rastro

(65) Por fin encontró un sillón en el (*sillón) que sentarse

Vergnaud argues that it is N^3 which is promoted out of the relative clause S and inserted into $_{N}{}^{1}(\triangle)$ in the matrix noun phrase.[9] I.e., the surface structure of a restrictive relative looks like (66), according to Vergnaud:

(66)

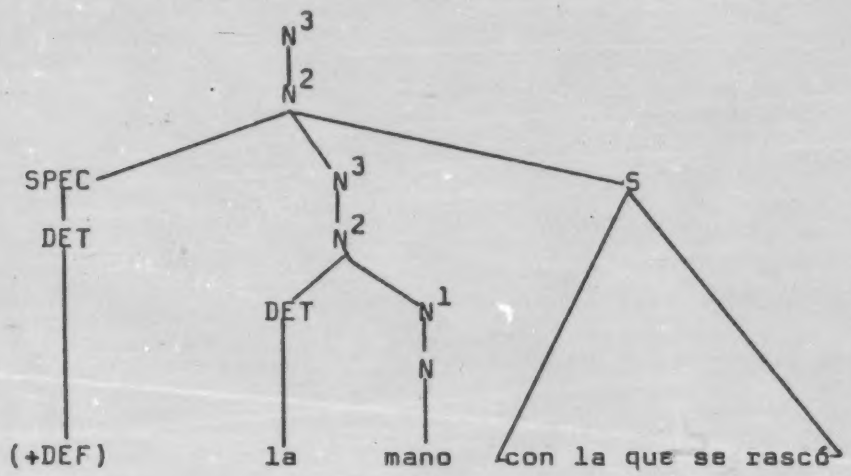


E.g., the surface structure which he proposes for a relative clause such as the one in (67) is represented by the tree in (68):

(67) la mano con la que se rascó

'the hand with which he scratched himself'

(68)



Note that in Vergnaud's analysis the matrix DET dominates no phonological material in surface structure. He bases this conclusion on sentences like the following:

(69) * { el / la / los / : / : } la mujer y el hombre que editaron este volumen

He then suggests that the matrix DET dominates a set of syntactic features. He believes that this syntactic matrix is copied by a transformation onto the DET of the relative noun phrase.

Vergnaud notes that when the pivotal element is a conjunction of NPs which differ with regard to definiteness, the result is ungrammatical:

(70) * el barbero y un panadero que se reunieron clandestinamente

*'the barber and a baker that met secretly'

(71) *tres obreros y el estudiante que se encontraron en el pasillo

*'three workers and the student that met in the hall'

(72) *esa botella y una copa que se cayeron al suelo

*'that bottle and a glass that fell to the floor'

But in general there are no cooccurrence restrictions between the determiners of coordinate noun phrases. In examples like (73-75) the value of the feature (DEFINITE) can be seen to vary from one conjunct to the other:

(73) El barbero y un panadero se reunieron clandestinamente

'The barber and a baker met secretly

(74) Tres obreros y el estudiante se encontraron en el pasillo

'Three workers and the student met in the hall'

(75) Esa botella y una copa se cayeron al suelo

'That bottle and a glass fell to the floor'

Consequently Vergnaud concludes that the matrix determiner dominates the feature (DEFINITE). He assumes the following lexical rule:

(76) $\text{DET} \longrightarrow (\pm\text{DEFINITE}) \; / \; ___ \; \text{S}$

He also assumes the following transformation:

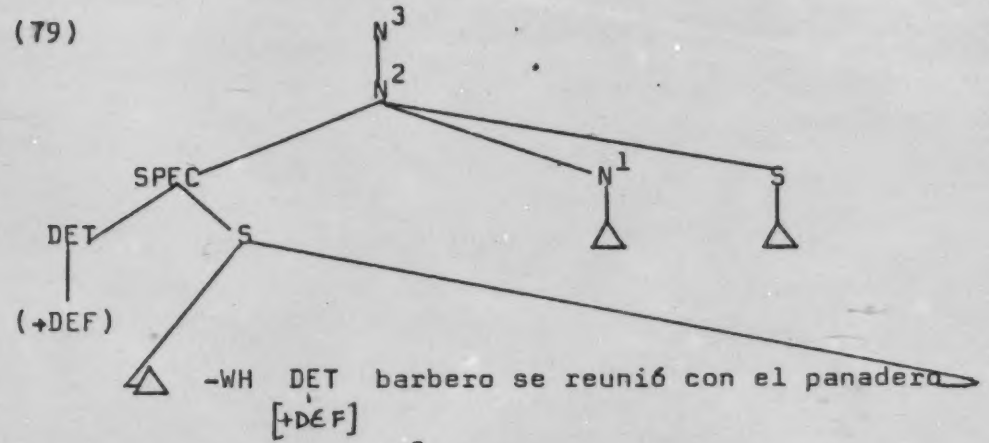
(77) $N^2 \longrightarrow [N, \alpha\text{DEFINITE}]^2 \; / \; _{\text{DET}}[[\alpha\text{DEFINITE}]] ___$

That is, the rule (77) copies the feature (αDEFINITE) of the matrix determiner onto the head noun phrase of the relative construction. The feature (αDEFINITE) then percolates down onto all inferior nodes. For example, according to Vergnaud

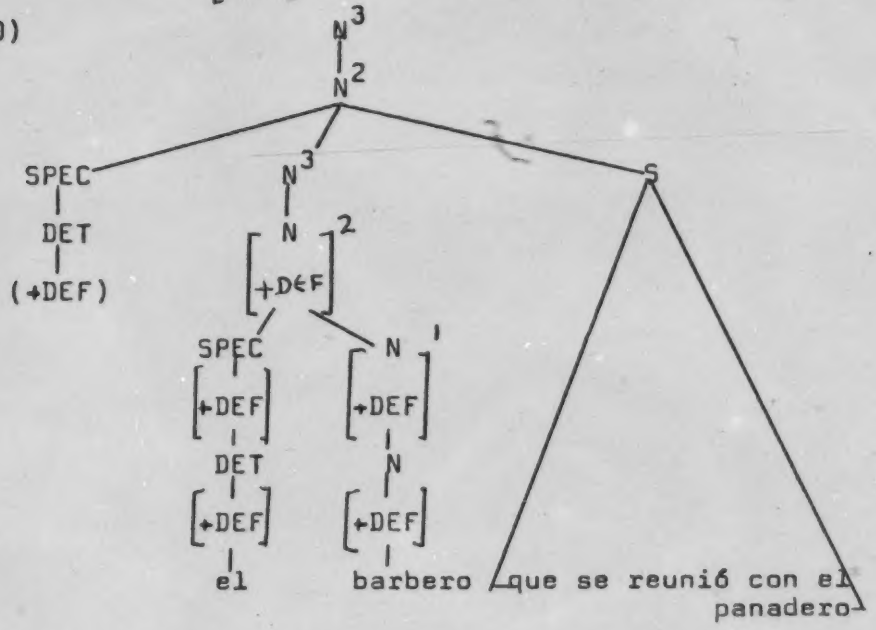
the underlying structure of (78) would be (79), and its surface structure would be (80):

(78) El barbero que se reunió con el panadero

(79)



(80)



Since the <u>el</u> of the subject NP is (+DEF), the tree is well-formed, and thus the string <u>(+DEF) el barbero que se reunió con el panadero</u> is grammatical.

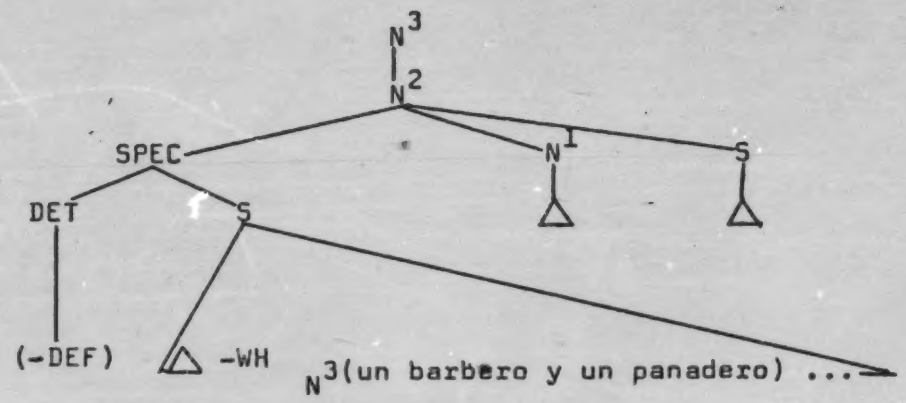
Vergnaud attributes the ungrammaticality of strings like (70-72) to a difference in values for the feature (DEF) of the matrix determiner and one of the determiners of the relative construction. The matrix determiner must be either (+DEFINITE) or (-DEFINITE). If it is (+DEF), the string is marked ungrammatical because rule (77) must assign the feature (+DEF) to a noun phrase which is (-DEF). E.g., in (70) (*el barbero y un panadero que se reunieron clandestinamente), if the matrix DET is (+DEF), the indefinite noun phrase un panadero must be marked definite. And if the matrix determiner is (-DEF), the string is ungrammatical because rule (77) assigns the feature (-DEF) to the noun phrase el barbero, which is definite. Thus the presence of the matrix determiner, which dominates a set of syntactic features, accounts for the fact that the conjoined NPs in such sentences must all have the same value of the feature (DEFINITE).

One of the reasons for which Vergnaud concludes that what is promoted is N^3 is because of the existence of NPs like the one in (81):

(81) un barbero y un panadero que se reunieron

It's obvious that in (81) the subject of se reunieron had to be a conjoined NP in underlying structure. Under Vergnaud's analysis the structure underlying (81) is (82):

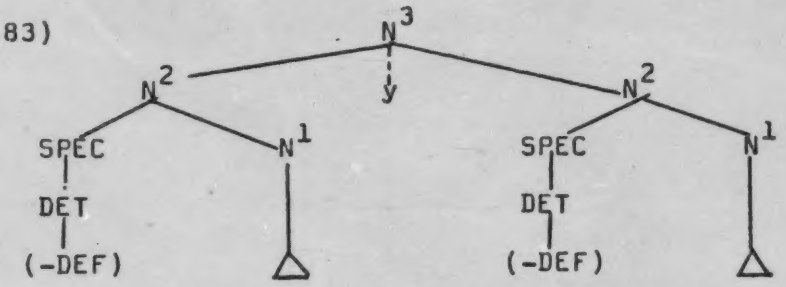
(82)



The entire N^3 is promoted.

Now assume for a minute that it's actually N^1 or N^2 that is promoted. I suppose the underlying matrix NP would then be roughly as in (83):

(83)



If the relative clause S starts out under the matrix SPEC, under which specifier would it be generated here?

It seems, then, that by maintaining that it is N^3 that is promoted, it is possible to account for the derivation of NPs like (81) (un barbero y un panadero que se reunieron) in an un-ad-hoc fashion; and it is possible to account for the fact that the DETs of conjoined NPs must have the same value for the feature (DEFINITE) in sentences like (70-72).

Now consider the following examples:

(84) las mujeres, con todas las cuales yo hablé ayer,...

'the women, with all (of) whom I spoke yesterday,...'

(85) las mujeres con (*todas) las que yo hablé ayer...

'the women with (*all) whom I spoke yesterday...'

Perlmutter (1972) gives examples in which quantifiers can occur in the relativized NP in appositive relative clausss (75). He states that "restrictive relatives in which the relativized noun phrase has a universal quantifier [out of DET] are unnatural" (p. 100, fn. 2). The quantifier <u>todos</u> in restrictive relative clauses may be ungrammatical because once N^3 is promoted, there is no longer a node under which the quantifier could occur.

Tho Vergnaud concludes tentatively that the feature (DEF) exhausts the syntactic matrix dominated by the matrix DET (92), O.ero has pointed out that SS like the following demonstrate that the matrix DET must also dominate the feature (SPECIFIC):

(84 bis) Quería ver una película que era divertida y que no {*fuera / era} violenta

'He wanted to see a (SPEC) movie that was amusing and that wasn't violent'

(85 bis) Quería ver una película que fuera divertida y que no {fuera / *era} violenta

'He wanted to see a (NONSPEC) movie that was amusing and that wasn't violent'

An NP which contains the subjunctive in a relative clause is understood as nonspecific, and an NP which contains the indicative in a relative clause is understood as specific. If the matrix DET dominates the feature (SPEC), this will guarantee that the value of the feature (SPEC) will be the same in all relative clauses which occur with a given head noun.

4.4. (±CARDINALITY) NPs

Before proceeding to a more detailed discussion of the derivation of restrictive relative clauses, it will be necessary to examine the difference between pairs of sentences like (86-92):

(86)(a) Ya elegimos tema {del / de} que hablar
(b)

(lit.: We already chose topic about which to speak)

(87)(a) No tengo lápiz con {el / Ø} que escribir en la
(b) pared

(lit.: I don't have pencil with which to write on the wall)

(88)(a) No tenían casa en {la / Ø} que vivir
(b)

(lit.: They didn't have house in which to live)

(89)(a) Miguel andaba buscando platos en {los / Ø} que
(b) servir el postre

'Miguel was looking for plates in which to serve the dessert'

(90)(a) Los alumnos necesitan lápices con {los / Ø} que
(b) dibujar

'The students need pencils with which to draw'

(91)(a) El carpintero ha pedido herramientas con
(b) {las / Ø} que trabajar

'The carpinter has asked for tools with which to work'

(92)(a) Luisa quiere clavos con {los / Ø} que construir
(b) la mesa

'Luisa wants nails with which to build the table'

Such pairs are not synonymous. In each case there seems to be a subtle difference between the member in which ART + que occurs and the one in which que occurs.

Note first that the difference between these pairs does not seem attributable to a difference in the value of the feature (SPECIFIC). It can be seen in the sentences of (93) that an NP which occurs after a form of haber preceded by no must be nonspecific, since the verb in the relative clause must be in the subjunctive, never in the indicative:

(93) No había (a) platos que {*servían / (b) sirvieran}

(lit.: There weren't plates that would do)

(c) No había lápices que {*valían / (d) valieran}

(lit.: There weren't pencils that were any good)

(e) No había casa que les {*gustaba / (f) gustara}

(lit.: There wasn't house that they liked)

(g) No había tema que le {*interesaba / (h) interesara}

(lit.: There wasn't topic that interested him)

Now note that when NPs such as those in (86-92) occur after forms of haber preceded by no, both ART + que and que can occur in relative clauses dominated by a prepositional phrase:

(94)(a) No había herramientas con {las / (b) Ø} que trabajar

(lit.: There weren't tools with which to work)

(c) No había lápiz con {el / Ø} que escribir
(d)

(lit.: There wasn't pencil with which to write)

(e) No había clavos con {los / Ø} que construir la
(f) mesa

(lit.: There weren't nails with which to build the table)

The verb in the relative clauses in (94) is an infinitive, so obviously no contrast between indicative and subjunctive is possible here. However, it has been seen in (93) that specific NPs cannot occur after haber preceded by no. Thus the NPs in (94) must be nonspecific. Since both que and ART + que can occur here, it must be concluded that the difference between these pairs of NPs does not involve the feature (SPECIFIC).

Rather, it seems that what may be involved is the feature (CARDINALITY).[10] Compare (95a) and (95b), and note that only (95b) entails (96):

(95)(a) No había platos en {los / Ø} que servir el postre (-CARD)
(b) (+CARD)

(96) No había platos

In (95b) the NP platos en que servir el postre, to which I will assign the feature (+CARD), is understood as referring to a small number of plates. In (95a) the NP platos en los que servir el postre to which I will assign the feature (-CARD), is understood as referring to a certain subset of plates. This explains the semantic incongruity of (97b),

which I will indicate with the sign #, in contrast with the naturalness of (97a).

(97)(a) Había platos, pero no (había) platos en {los / #Ø}
(b) que servir el postre

It can be seen that an NP with no overt determiner can sometimes be understood as either (+CARDINALITY) or (-CARDINALITY). However, in sentences like (95a, b) there is a difference in the relative forms which occur in surface structure. Art + que occurs in (95a) in the (-CARD) NP, and que occurs in (95b) in the (+CARD) NP. However, the NP in (96) as well as the NP in Había platos can only be understood as (+CARD).

It seems that Spanish alguno (ninguno) is understood as (+CARD). Alguno (ninguno) appears to correspond to sm in English.[11] Compare (95b), repeated here as (98a), with (98b), and note that in both cases the relative form which occurs after a preposition is que:

(98) No había (a) {platos} (+CARD)
(b) {ningún plato} (+CARD)
en que servir el postre

It seems that Spanish unos, which corresponds to English some, is understood as (-CARD). Compare (95a), repeated here as (99a) with (99b), and note that in both sentences the relative form which occurs after a preposition is ART + que:

(99) No había (a) {platos} (-CARD)
(b) {unos platos} (-CARD)
en los que servir el postre

Now compare (100) with (101):

(100) Había algunos platos en que servir el postre (+CARD)

(101) Había unos platos en los que servir el postre (-CARD)

Once again it seems that the relative form in an NP which is (+CARD) is que, while the relative form which occurs after a preposition in an NP which is (-CARD) is ART + que.

Now consider the following sentences, which involve a noncount noun:

(102)(a) No tenía dinero con el que pagar la cuenta (-CARD)
(b) No tenía dinero con Ø que pagar la cuenta (+CARD)

'He didn't have any money with which to pay the bill'

Once again there appears to be a subtle difference between the two NPs, and once again the difference may be explained by claiming that the NP in (102a) is (-CARD) and the NP in (102b) is (+CARD). As before, the NP which is (-CARD) is taken as referring to a certain subset of dinero. Thus (102a), but not (102b), could be further clarified by a sentence like (103):

(103) No tenía dólares (in the USA), pero sí tenía pesetas suficientes, si se las aceptasen

Recall that the NP which is (-CARD), in this case the NP in (102b), is understood as referring to a small amount--here, a small amount of money. Consequently if (103) were to occur after (102b), it would be semantically incongruous, since (102b) is understood as claiming that he has no money

at all.

But (102a), which contains an NP which is (-CARD), is understood to mean that he doesn't have a certain subset of money, i.e. money with which to pay the bill. (102a) does not claim that he has no money at all. For this reason (102a) can be further clarified by a sentence like (103).

From examining the sentences (86-92, 94, 102), it seems that the relative form which occurs after a preposition is ART + que if the NP is (-CARD), and que if the NP is (+CARD). In (94, 95) the examples which were discussed in detail, the head nouns were plural. In (104-106) it can be seen that the generalization applies equally if the head is a singular noun:

(104)(a) Ya elegimos un tema del que hablar (-CARD)
(b) *de

'We already chose a topic about which to speak'

(105)(a) No tengo un lápiz con el que escribir
(b) *Ø
en la pared (-CARD)

'I don't have a pencil with which to write on the wall'

(106)(a) No tenían una casa en la que vivir (-CARD)
(b) *Ø

'They didn't have a house in which to live

The indefinite determiner un (una, unos, unas) is always (-CARD), unlike the Ø determiner, which can be (±CARD).

Now note that when the definite article occurs before the head noun, the relative form is always ART + que, not

que:

(107)(a) Ya elegimos el tema {del / *de} que hablar
(b)

'We already chose the topic about which to speak'

(108)(a) No tengo el lápiz con {el / *Ø} que escribir en
(b) la pared

'I don't have the pencil with which to write on the wall'

(109)(a) No tenía el dinero con {el / *Ø} que pagar la
(b) cuenta

'He didn't have the money with which to pay the bill'

(110)(a) Luisa quiere los clavos con {los / *Ø} que con-
(b) struir la mesa

'Luisa wants the nails with which to build the table'

It has been suggested that the Ø determiner in subject position and the definite determiner in any position both imply universal quantification (see Otero (1975)), an idea which is incompatible with cardinality. An NP cannot be both universally quantified and (+CARD). It may be that a general redundancy rule will automatically insure that an NP which is (+DEFINITE) is (-CARDINALITY). If so, it follows that the NPs in (107-110) are (-CARD), since all are (+DEF). Once again it can be seen that the relative form after a preposition must be ART + que, not que, if the NP is (-CARD).

4.5. Restrictive relative forms reconsidered

I will now turn to the question of the derivation of restrictive relative clauses. Recall that Vergnaud has shown that in underlying structure the value of the feature (DEFINITE) must be the same both under the matrix determiner and under the determiner of the NP which is relativized. Sentences such as (104a, 105a, 106a), repeated here as (111-113) respectively, are of particular interest in view of this restriction on the value of the feature (DEFINITE) of the matrix determiner and the determiner of the relativized NP:

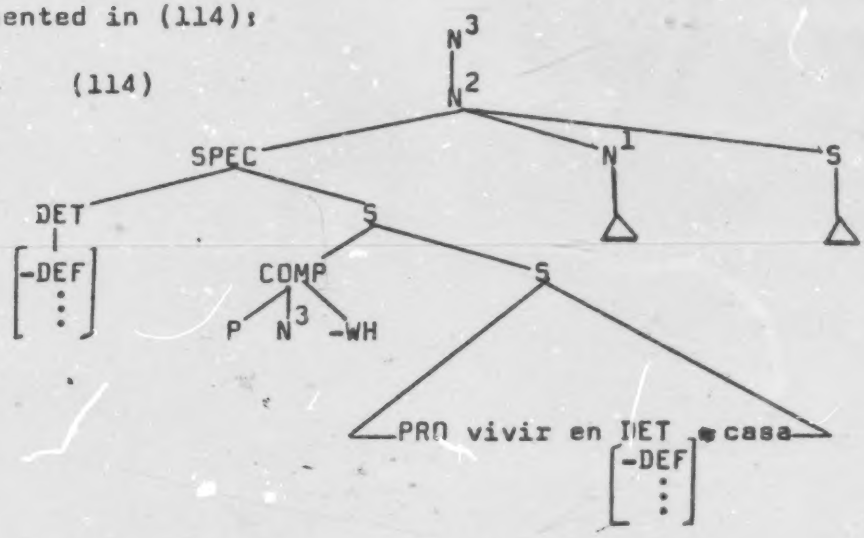
(111) Ya elegimos un tema del que hablar

(112) No tengo un lápiz con el que escribir en la pared

(113) No tenían una casa en la que vivir

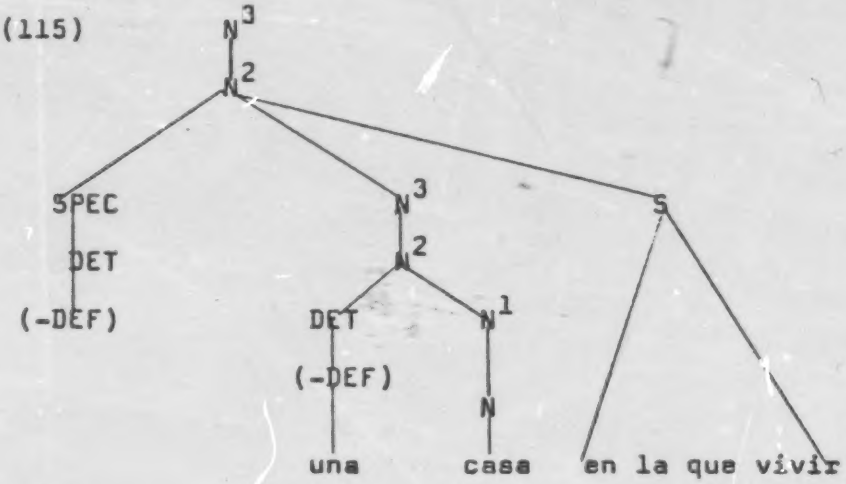
The partial underlying structure for (113) is represented in (114):

(114)



It can be seen that the surface determiner which occurs before the head noun is the indefinite article. We must then assume that the matrix determiner dominates the feature (-DEFINITE), since the value of the feature (DEFINITE) must be the same under both the matrix determiner and the determiner of the promoted NP. E.g., the surface structure of (113) looks like (115):

(115)



In the deep structure the value of the feature (DEFINITE) was also the same under both the matrix determiner and the determiner of the NP which was to be relativized. But note that the relative forms which occur in surface structure in each of these sentences consist of the appropriate form of the definite article followed by the complementizer que. It must somehow be explained why it is that a definite relative form occurs in surface structure, when the relativized NP in underlying structure was indefinite.

In an effort to provide a general treatment of all relative clauses, I will propose tentatively that all relative

proforms must be definite.[12]

Before discussing how this is to be handled by the grammar, I will first return to the following sentences, discussed previously in Chapter 3, which at first glance could appear to contradict such a proposal:

(116) No hay quien te aguante
(lit.: There is not who can stand you)
(approx.: 'There is not anybody who...')

(117) No hay que hacer
(lit.: There is not that to do)
(approx.: 'There isn't anything to do')

It is generally accepted that definite NPs cannot occur after forms of haber.[13] Thus (118) is grammatical, but (119) is not:

(118) En el patio había un árbol
'In the patio there was a tree'

(119) *En el patio había el árbol
*'In the patio there was the tree'

However, recall that in sentences like (116, 117) quien and que are relative forms. The underlying head in each case was △. It would seem, then, that in such sentences the underlying △ must have been indefinite, but from this it would not follow that the relative form which appears in the surface structure must also be indefinite. As has been seen already in sentences like (111-113), there are instances in which a relative form which is indisputably definite

occurs after a head which is indefinite. This is also true of sentences like (120, 121):

(120) Aquí hay unas cajas en las que puedes transportar las botellas

'Here there are some boxes in which you can transport the bottles'

(121) Por aquí hay unas personas con las que no te compensa hablar

'Around here there are some people who it doesn't pay you to talk with'

Thus the fact that que and quien can occur after haber in surface structure need not be interpreted to mean that these forms are indefinite.

Sentences such as (122-128), which were discussed in 4.4, might seem to contradict the proposal that the relative form always be considered as definite:

(122) Ya elegimos tema de que hablar

(123) No tenemos lápiz con que escribir en la pared

(124) No tenían casa en que vivir

(125) Miguel andaba buscando platos en que servir el postre

(126) Los alumnos necesitan lápices con que dibujar

(127) El carpintero ha pedido herramientas con que trabajar

(128) Luisa quiere clavos con que construir la mesa

It has been seen that in sentences like (122-128) ART + que can occur after the preposition instead of que. I have noted that if ART + que occurs, the NP seems to be understood as (-CARD), while if que occurs the NP seems to

be understood as (+CARD).

Recall that in sentences like (129), which were discussed in Chapter 3, the relative form which occurs after a preposition must also be que, not ART + que:

(129) No había de que vivir

(lit.: There was not of which to live)

(approx.: 'There was nothing to live off of')

The head noun here was an unspecified proform.

Sentences like (130, 131) should also be taken into consideration:

(130)(a) Buscaba a alguien { a quien / *al que } dejar su dinero
(b)

'He was looking for someone to leave his money to'

(131)(a) No había nadie { a quien / *al que } echar la culpa
(b)

'There wasn't anybody to put the blame on'

It can be seen that in sentences like (130, 131) ART + que is not possible; only quien can occur. Note that in (130) and (131) the head nouns (alguien, nadie) are nonspecific. The sentence (132) further suggests that quien may be the relative form which occurs after a preposition when the head noun is (+HUMAN, -SPECIFIC):

(132) La alumna a quien demos el libro se sentirá orgullosa

'The student (NONSPECIFIC) to whom we give the book will feel proud'

Now compare (132) with (133):

(133)(a) La alumna a {la que / *quien} daremos el libro se
(b) sentirá orgullosa

'The student (SPECIFIC) to whom we will give book will feel proud'

In (133) the subject NP is specific, and the appropriate relative form is ART + que, not quien. Altho the matter needs further investigation, for the time being I will hypothesize that quien is the relative form generated after a preposition when the head noun is (+HUMAN, -SPECIFIC).

Now consider (134, 135):

(134) Hay quien te desea mal

(lit.: There is who wishes you ill)

(approx.: 'There is someone who wishes you ill')

(135) Habrá quien te desee mal en 1984

(lit.: There will be who wishes you ill in 1984)

(approx.: 'There will be someone who wishes you ill in 1984')

As was discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, the underlying head here was PRO (-DEF, +HUM). Quien here seems to be understood as (-SPECIFIC) in both cases. Thus the generalization that quien occurs when the head is (+HUM, -SPECIFIC) applies here also.

Altho the question needs further investigation, I will tentatively suggest that quien is also the relative form which occurs after a preposition when the head is (+HUMAN, -SPECIFIED). This would also account for the occurrence of

quien in sentences like these:

(136)(a) Estoy buscando a alguien con quien me {entiendo / entienda}
(b) bien

'I'm looking for someone with whom I get along well'

In (36a) the NP alguien con quien me entiendo bien is specific; in (36b) alguien con quien me entienda bien is non-specific. In both cases the NPs are (+HUMAN, -SPECIFIED).

Turning now to the question of whether the relative forms que and quien could be considered as definite, note that there are cases in which an NP which contains no determiner in surface structure seems to be understood as definite. E.g., consider the underlined NPs in (137, 138):

(137) El candidato se quedó en casa durante toda la elección

(138) Toda elección debe ser honesta

According to Modern Spanish, the textbook of the Modern Language Association,

> When every is used in a universal sense, the Spanish equivalent is todo, -a (singular without the article). The equivalent of all is normally todo, -a, -os, -as with the article. (S. 76)

(137), then, would be translated as 'The candidate stayed at home during all (of) the election.' (138) would be translated as 'Every election should be honest.' The difference between the NPs in (137, 138), it seems, does not involve the contrast definite-indefinite. Note also that it seems that the NP in (137) is referential and (+IND),

and the NP in (138) is nonreferential and (-IND). But both NPs are definite.[14] (138), then, is one example of a definite NP which has no determiner in surface structure.

In the following examples the underlined NPs also seem to be understood as definite, even tho no overt determiner occurs with them in surface structure ((139, 140) appear in Bello, S. 884):

(139) Madrid, <u>capital de España</u>, ...

(lit.: Madrid, capital of Spain, ...)

(140) Rodrigo, <u>último rey de los godos</u>, ...

(lit.: Rodrigo, last king of the Goths, ...)

(141) Sigmund Freud, <u>padre del sicoanálisis</u>, ...

(lit.: Sigmund Freud, father of psychoanalysis, ...)

(142) Cervantes, <u>autor del Quixote</u>, ...

(lit.: Cervantes, author of the <u>Quixote</u>, ...)

It seems that such NPs cannot be understood as indefinite. So I take (139-142) as further evidence that NPs without a surface determiner can be definite.[15]

Bello writes that "En las enumeraciones se calla elegantemente el artículo," but he doesn't specify whether the article he has in mind was definite or indefinite. However, it seems that the NPs in the examples he lists (S. 883) may be understood as definite, rather that indefinite, at least on one reading:[16]

(143) Hombres y mujeres tomaron las armas para defender la ciudad

'Men and women took up arms to defend the city'

(144) Viejos y niños escuchaban con atención sus palabras

'Old people and children listened to his words with attention

(145) Pobres y ricos acudían a él en sus necesidades y embarazos

'Poor and rich turned to him in their needs and troubles'

(146) Padre e hijo fueron a cual más temeroso de Dios (Rivadeneira)

(147) Divididos estaban caballeros y escuderos (Cervantes)

Yet another example in which an NP without a determiner in surface structure seems to be understood as definite is seen in (148):[17]

(148) Esclavos nubianos construyeron el palacio

'Nubian slaves built the palace'

Otero (1975) argues that here esclavos nubianos "can receive only a 'universal quantification' interpretation." He concludes that the deep structure of esclavos nubianos in (148) is $((+DEF)_{DET}N)_{NP}$.

With examples (138-148) I have suggested that an NP without an overt determiner in surface structure can sometimes be definite. It would seem, then, that if the feature (+DEFINITE) sometimes corresponds to no determiner before the head noun in surface structure, it could also sometimes correspond to nothing before a relative form in surface

structure. This would then allow for the possibility that the relative forms que and quien when they occur after a preposition could also be definite, even tho no determiner occurs before them in surface structure.

4.6. Derivation of restrictive relative clauses

I will now outline the steps in the derivation of relative clauses. To generate the underlying structures, I will assume the following base rules:

(149) S ——> COMP S'

(150) S' ——> N^3 V^3

(151) COMP ——> (P) N^3 ±WH

(152) N^3 ——> (Q) N^2

(153) N^2 ——> SPEC N^1 (S)

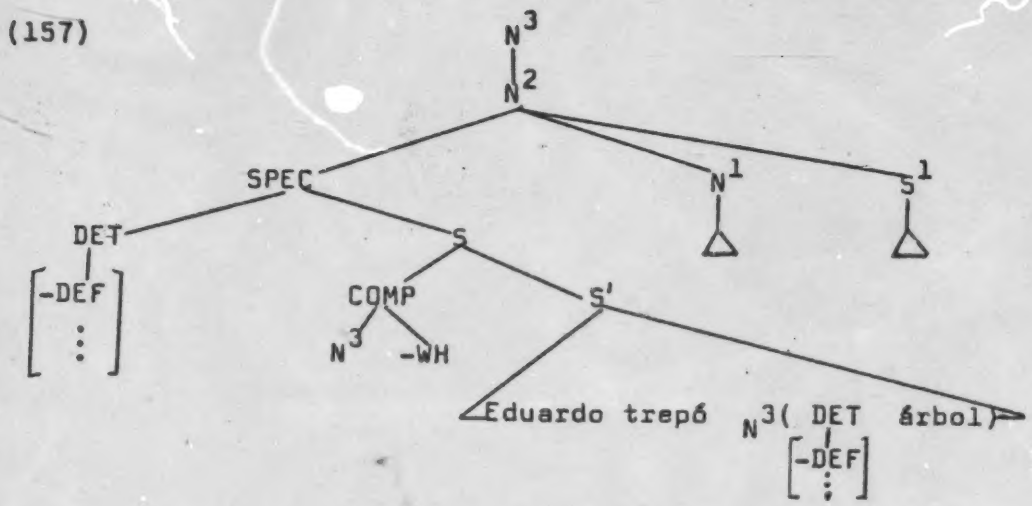
(154) SPEC ——> DET (S)

E.g., the underlying structures for (155) and (156) would look like (157) and (158) respectively:

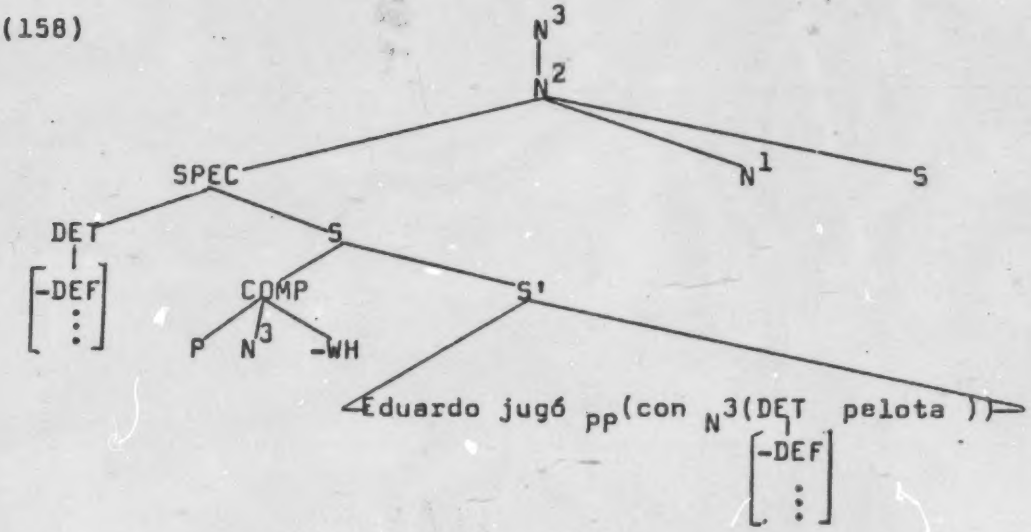
(155) un árbol que Eduardo trepó
'a tree that Edward climbs'

(156) una pelota con la que Eduardo jugó
'a ball with which Edward played'

(157)



(158)



On the relative clause cycle WH-placement applies to the N^3 DET árbol in (157), placing the feature (WH) on the node N^3. In (158) the feature (WH) is placed on the PP con DET pelota. By convention the feature percolates down to all the nodes dominated by the node which has the feature (WH).

WH-movement then moves the uppermost node which has been marked (WH) into the COMP. In (167) it is N^3 which is moved; in (158) it is PP. The rule can be formulated as follows:

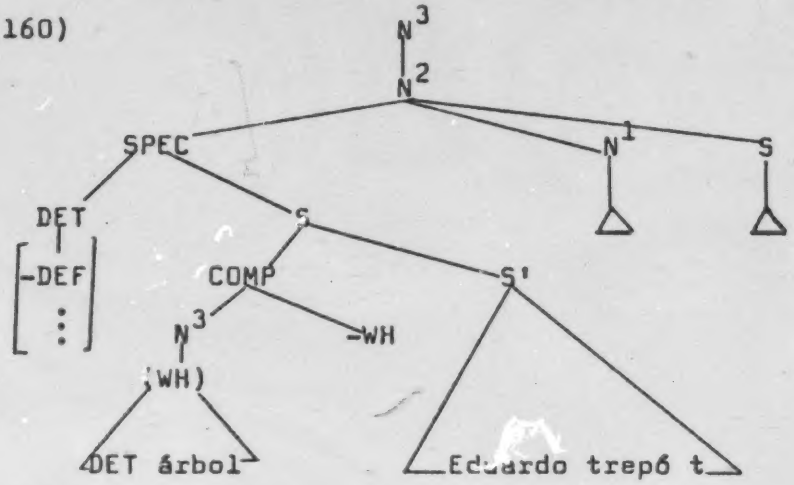
(159) WH-movement

SD:	X,	±WH,	Y,	wh
	1	2	3	4
SC:	4	2	3	t

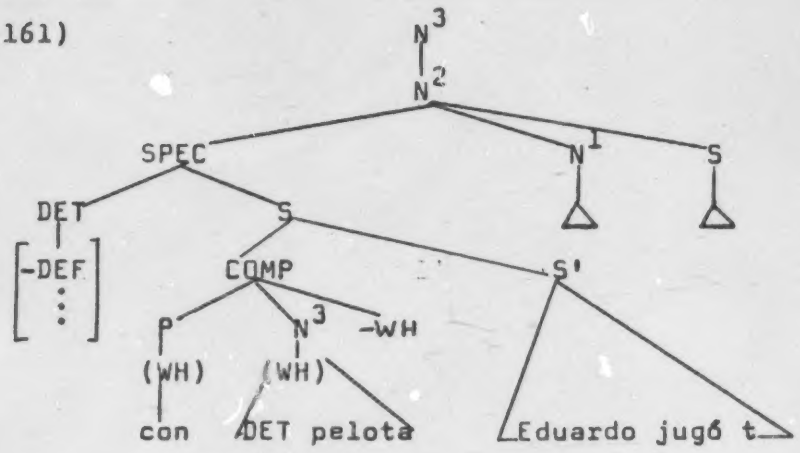
(Where t is the trace left by the transformation.)

The structures underlying (155) and (156) at the end of the first cycle are (160) and (161) respectively:

(160)



(161)



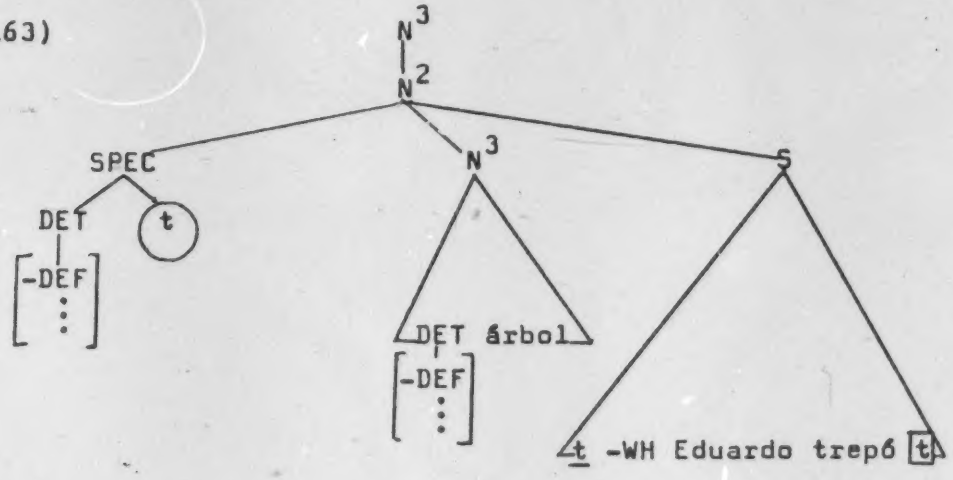
On the next cycle, the matrix N^2 cycle, the relativized N^3 is promoted into the dummy N^1, at which point it loses the feature (WH), as do all inferior nodes, by percolation. The relative clause S is extraposed to the end of the matrix NP. The Relative Clause Movement rule can be formulated as (162):

(162) Relative Clause Movement

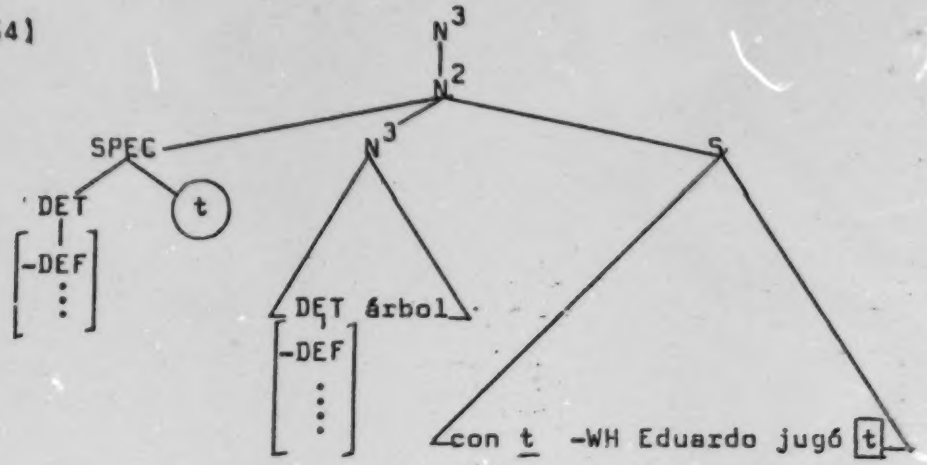
SD:	DET,	S,	X,	Y
	1	2	3	4
SC:	1	t	3	2

At this point the structures underlying (155) and (156) look like (163) and (164) respectively:

(163)



(164)



(In (163, 164) (t) represents the trace left by Relative Clause Movement, t represents the trace left by promotion of the relativized N^3, and [t] represents the trace left by WH-Movement.)

Once the relative clause has been extraposed and the relativized NP has been promoted, the transformation which copies the feature (∂DEFINITE) of the matrix determiner onto the promoted NP applies, and the feature (∂DEFINITE) subsequently percolates down onto all inferior nodes. This transformation, stated previously as (77), is repeated here as (165):

(165) $N^2 \longrightarrow (N, \partial\ \text{DEFINITE})^2 \ /\ _{\text{DET}}(\ (\partial\text{DEFINITE})\ )__$

According to Vergnaud, the trace left under COMP by the promoted NP is not marked for definiteness (94), but is interpreted as a definite pronoun under the influence of the head (p. 245, fn. 31). However, it would seem that in Spanish the rule which gives morphological shape to this trace may well be operating on a trace which is (+DEFINITE), since,

as can be seen in (156) (una pelota con la que Eduardo jugó), the surface form la que clearly contains the definite article.

It seems correct to assume that after the relativized NP is promoted, the trace which it leaves is unmarked for definiteness, since it has been seen in (156) that what is a definite relative form in surface structure (la que) can come from the trace left by what was in underlying structure an indefinite NP (un árbol). A possible solution would be for a rule to assign the feature (+DEFINITE) to traces which are the result of promotion of a relativized NP. Such a rule could be stated as in (166):

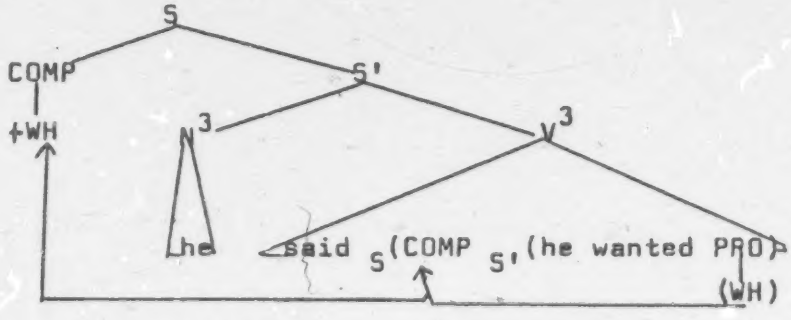
(166) t ⟶ (+DEF) / $_{\text{COMP}}$ ((P) $_{+WH}$)

Note that this rule as stated would also definitize the trace which is left during the derivation of sentences such as the following:

(167) What did he say t he wanted?

The NP which in underlying structure corresponds to the surface form what must be moved into the COMP of the embedded sentence before it can be moved to the sentence initial position:

(168)



It is possible that a convention states that if the trace is to the right of an element that is anaphoric with it, it would be definite, otherwise it would not.

Altho the trace left after promotion of the relativized NP is unmarked for definiteness, note that apparently it retains the value of the feature (SPECIFIC) which occurred with the promoted NP in underlying structure. This would appear to be true if it is accepted that the difference between the relative forms in sentences like (169, 170), which were given previously as (132, 133), involves differences in the value of the feature (SPECIFIC):

(169) La alumna a quien demos el libro se sentirá orgullosa (-SPEC)

'The student (NONSPECIFIC) to whom we give the book will feel proud'

(170) La alumna a la que daremos el libro se sentirá orgullosa (+SPECIFIC)

'The student (SPECIFIC) to whom we will give the book will feel proud'

Obviously the trace must also retain the feature (+HUMAN), since <u>quien</u> can only occur after (+HUMAN) heads. Compare (171) and (172):

(171) No hay de quien fiarse (+HUMAN)

(lit.: There is not who to trust)

(approx.: 'There isn't anybody to trust')

(172) No hay de que fiarse

(lit.: There is not COMP to trust)

(approx.: 'There isn't anything to trust')

The feature (±CARDINALITY) also seems to play a role in determining the surface relative form. For recall that if the NP is (-CARD) the relative form after a preposition must be ART + que, and if the NP is (+CARD) the relative form after a preposition is que:

(173)(a) No tengo lápiz con {el} que escribir la carta (-CARD)
(b) {Ø} (+CARD)

(lit.: I don't have pencil with which to write the letter)

(174)(a) No tengo {un} lápiz con el que escribir la carta
(b) {*Ø} (-CARD)

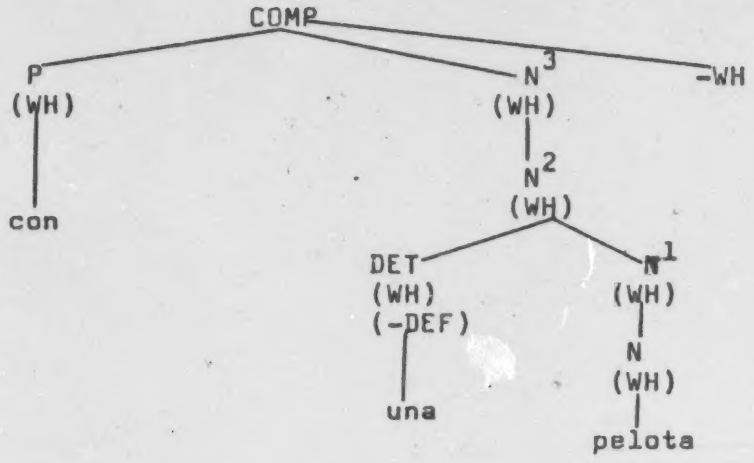
'I don't have a pencil with which to write the letter'

(175)(a) No tengo el lápiz con {el} que escribir la carta
(b) {*Ø} (-CARD)

'I don't have the pencil with which to write the letter'

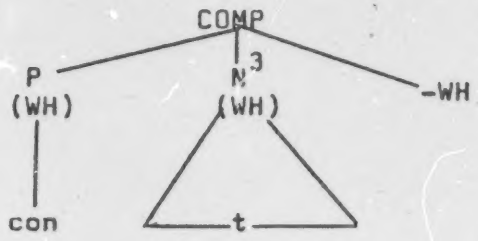
I have stated that when the relativized N^3 is moved out of the COMP and inserted under $_{N}1(\triangle)$ in the matrix NP, it leaves a trace under the N^3 node of the COMP. E.g., consider again the derivation of the NP in (156) (una pelota con la que Eduardo jugó). After WH-Movement has inserted the relativized N^3 into the complementizer, the COMP looks like (176):

(176)



After N^3 is inserted under the matrix $_{N}1(\triangle)$, leaving a trace in the complementizer, the COMP looks like figure (177):

(177)



I have suggested that at this point rule (166) assigns the feature (+DEFINITE) to the trace.

I will now try to ascertain the precise nature of the trace which is dominated by N^3. Consider once again the NP of (156), repeated here as (178):

(178) una pelota con la que Eduardo jugó

It can be seen that the surface structure relative form consists of an overt definite determiner plus the complementizer. It seems reasonable to suspect, then, that one of the elements which occurs under COMP is a determiner.

Now consider once again sentences like (171), repeated here as (179):

(179) No hay de quien fiarse

It seems reasonable to assert that quien is not a determiner. There are at least two possibilities here:

(i) Quien is a relative pronoun with no overt determiner.

(ii) Quien is a relative pronoun which includes its determiner.

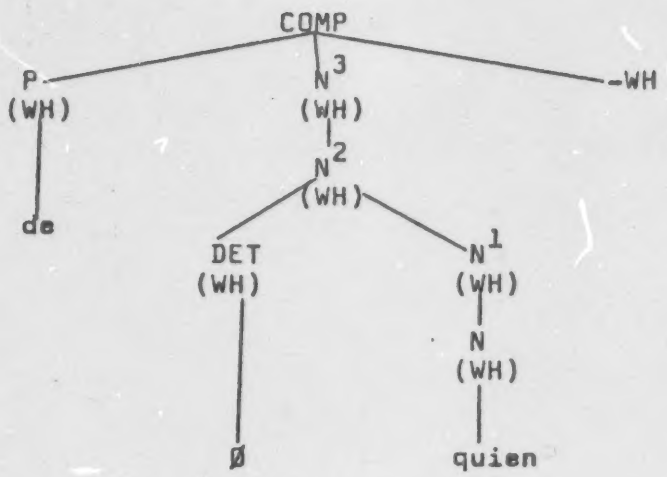
Now compare (179) with (172), which I repeat here as (180):

(180) No hay de que fiarse

It seems possible that the underlying FROs in (179) and (180) differ only in that the former is (+HUMAN), the latter (-HUMAN). It can be seen that in (180) no overt determiner occurs in surface structure. It may well be, then, that the determiner before the (+HUMAN) counterpart is also Ø at the morphological level.

I will assume, then, that (i) is correct, i.e. that quien is a relative pronoun with no overt determiner. (If this is incorrect, the rules which I propose below would have to be modified slightly.) The COMP of (179) at surface level would look like figure (181):

(181)



It seems, then, that the trace which is left when the relativized N^3 is promoted out of the complementizer must consist of an N^3. More specifically, there must be rules which will give morphological shape to both a DET and an N^1 under COMP. This seems true because it can be seen that in surface structure sometimes the relative form consists of an overt determiner and the complementizer, while at other times it consists of a relative pronoun.

In order to summarize what has been presented here, I will tentatively formulate the following rules (182-184), which account for the possible surface relative forms. (For examples, see (185-187).)

(182) $\underset{(WH)}{t} \Longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{\text{quien}} \text{ / P} \\ \qquad \text{PRO} \left[\begin{array}{l} \qquad\qquad \\ +\text{HUMAN} \\ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} -\text{SPECIFIC} \\ -\text{SPECIFIED} \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right] \\ \\ \\ \\ \emptyset \end{array} \right\}$

(183) DET (WH) ⟹

{ Ø / _____ quien
  [_____]
  [+CARD]
  [_____]
  [+PRO]
  [-HUMAN]
  [-SPECIFIED]
  el, la, ... / P _____ }

The rule which inserts the complementizer can be stated as (184):

(184) COMP (-WH) ⟶ que

(184) applies obligatorily if quien has not been inserted by rule (182); otherwise it is blocked.[18]

In sentences like those of (185), the morphological shape given to the trace left under N by rule (182) is Ø, that given to the DET by rule (183) is also Ø, and rule (184) inserts the complementizer:

(185)(a) No tengo (ningún) lápiz con Ø que escribir
(b) Ha pedido herramientas con Ø que trabajar
(c) No hay de Ø que vivir

In sentences like (186) the morphological shape given to the trace left under N by rule (182) is quien. The morphological shape given to the DET by rule (183) is Ø, and application of rule (184) is blocked:

(186)(a) La alumna a Ø quien demos el libro se sentirá orgullosa

(b) No hay (PRO) Ø quien te aguante

(c) No hay (PRO) de Ø quien fiarse

(d) Encontró a alguien con Ø quien se entendía bien

(e) (PRO) Quien quebranta la ley sufre las consecuencias

In sentences like those of (187) the morphological shape of the trace under N which is given by (182) is Ø. The morphological shape of the DET which is given by rule (183) is el (la, ...). And rule (184) inserts the complementizer:

(187)(a) Ha pedido $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{Ø} \\ \text{unas} \\ \text{las}\end{matrix}\right\}$ herramientas con las que trabajar

(b) No tengo $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{Ø} \\ \text{un} \\ \text{el}\end{matrix}\right\}$ lápiz con el que escribir la carta

(c) La alumna a la que daremos el libro se sentirá orgullosa

Footnotes to Chapter 4

1. It has been pointed out to me by Otero that singular NPs without an article cannot occur in surface subject position, tho plural NPs with no surface determiner sometimes can. E.g., compare (5) with (i) below):

(i) $\left\{\begin{array}{l}*\emptyset \\ \text{Un}\end{array}\right\}$ obrero construyó este edificio

Note also that altho both (ii) and (iii) are grammatical, (iv) is grammatical but (v) is not:

(ii) Quiere comprar casa

(iii) Quiere comprar una casa

(iv) *Casa es lo que quiere comprar

(v) Una casa es lo que quiere comprar

2. There are restrictions on the occurence of count nouns which are not preceded by a determiner in surface structure. E.g., in these examples it can be seen that not all singular count nouns can occur in these constructions:

(i)	(a)	Están buscando	casa
	(b)		piso
	(c)		*museo
	(d)		*biblioteca
	(e)		*cine
(ii)	(a)	Llevaba	chaleco
	(b)		abrigo
	(c)		corbata
	(d)		bikini
	(e)		cuchillo
	(f)		pistola
	(g)		*libro
	(h)		*periódico
	(i)		*lámpara

And count nouns not preceded by a determiner in surface structure can occur only after certain verbs. E.g., compare (ii) (a-d) with (iii). These sentences show that when llevar means 'to wear,' nouns which refer to objects of clothing can occur without a determiner in object position, but when llevar means 'to carry' these same objects are ungrammatical if they are not preceded by a determiner:

(iii)(a) *Llevaba {chaleco / abrigo / corbata / bikini} en la mano
(b)
(c)
(d)

Compare (iii) with (iv):

(iv)(a) Llevaba {un chaleco / un abrigo / una corbata / un bikini} en la mano
(b)
(c)
(d)

Further examples of restrictions on the matrix verb:

(v)(a) ¿Sabes que Juan ha {comprado / *vendido} {coche / casa / televisión}?
(b)

(vi) Para ir a una fiesta Juan siempre viste {corbata / chaleco / chaqueta}

(vii) *Al llegar a una fiesta Juan siempre se quita {corbata / chaleco / chaqueta}

From examples (v-vii) it can be seen that more than semantics is involved. The solution seems to lie beyond the realm of the grammar and to involve pragmatics and social situations, as can be seen from an example

like (v), in which comprar is grammatical but vender is not.

3. It is clear that in at least some instances a (+DEF) NP can be (-IND). E.g.,

(i) Todos los beneficios extraordinarios cuestan sólo $20 en total (+DEF, -IND, -TOT)

(ii) La compañía nos quitó todos los beneficios extraordinarios {simultáneamente / uno por uno} (+DEF, +IND, +TOT)

For a further discussion of the features (±INDIVIDUAL) and (±TOTALITY) see Dougherty (1970). As clarification of examples (i) and (ii) I quote the following passages:

> CLASS II. The feature complex (+TOT, +IND) becomes the surface structure quantifier all --or, if only two conjuncts are present, the quantifier both. All the conjuncts are considered as a whole, but they may or may not act independently. All and both can occur with alone, at once, simultaneously, etc. (868)
>
> CLASS III. The feature complex (+TOT, -IND) becomes the surface structure quantifier all. (869)
>
> All in the (+TOT, -IND) sense occurs with expressions like all told, in toto, mutually, total, unanimously, etc. (870)

4. Sentences (27a, b) were pointed out to me by Dr. William Bull.

5. Cf. ¿Qué libro quieres? ¿Cuál libro (cuál de los libros) quieres?

6. In the following English sentences (from Kuno, p. 355) one is understood as referring to a nonreferential noun phrase:

(i) John is a doctor$_i$. John has been a doctor$_i$ ever since he graduated from medical school

(ii) John is a doctor. John has been him ever since ...

It is interesting to note that in such sentences in Spanish this one is translated by the definite pronoun lo:

(iii) John is a doctor. John has been one ever since ...

(iv) Juan es médico. Lo ha sido desde cuando se graduó de la escuela de medicina.

(lit.: He has been it ever since ...)

Compare (iv) with (v):

(v) Juan es médico. *Ha sido uno desde cuando ...)

(lit.: He has been one ever since ...)

However, even tho a definite pronoun occurs in Spanish in such cases, note that it does not agree in number and gender with its antecedent:

(vi) Juana no es ninguna santa, ni lo será nunca

(vii) Pablo y Amalia son abogados, aunque no lo parezcan

7. (51a, b) should also be compared with the following sentence:

Juan se compró un sillón, el que yo le había recomendado que se comprara

Sentences of this type have been discussed in Chapter 1.

8. As was pointed out in the introductory chapter, lo cual also occurs in appositive relatives whose antecedent is an NP which is (-GENDER) and (-NUMBER). E.g., Los poetas

hablan mucho de {"lo ideal," "lo bello," "lo hermoso,"} lo cual es una noción muy abstracta.

9. Vergnaud thus finds himself obligated to modify Emonds' Structure Preserving Constraint in order to allow for N^3 to be inserted under N^1. His revision of the Structure Preserving Constraint reads as follows:

> Let T be a transformation. Suppose T is neither a root transformation nor a minor movement rule. Then a node A^p can be moved, copied, or inserted into a node B^q, according to the structural change of T, only if A and B are identical (where p and q are integers and represent the number of bars over A and B respectively). (86)

10. Much of the information about the analysis of the Spanish data was provided for me by Otero.

11. English some and the plural indefinite Ø are ambiguous with respect to the distinction (±CARDINALITY). Some can be either the (-CARD) plural of a (cf. uno, unos), i.e. "some, but not others." Or some can be the (+CARD) indefinite number, "sm." (Cf. {Muchos / Pocos / Algunos} de los hombres.)

Note that (i) and (ii) below would both be translated as (iii):

(i) Luisa quiere unos clavos (-CARD)

(ii) Luisa quiere algunos clavos (+CARD)

(iii) 'Luisa wants some nails' (±CARD)

The English translations of sentences such as those of (89-92) are also ambiguous, since the plural indefinite Ø, as well as some, can be(±CARD), and

since English, unlike Spanish, uses the same relative form in both the NPs which are (+CARD) and those which are (-CARD).

12. Recall that Kuroda (1969) proposed a transformation which he called Definitization which made all indefinite relative NPs definite.

13. More precisely, universally quantified NPs cannot occur in such contexts. (See Milsark, 1974.)

14. More precisely, universally quantified -- see Milsark (1974).

15. For a more detailed discussion, see Otero (1975).

16. A more complete discussion of this rather complex matter is provided by Otero (1975).

17. This example is discussed in Otero (1975).

18. Recall that the expansion of COMP which I have suggested is as follows:

(i) $\text{COMP} \longrightarrow (\text{P})\ N^3\ \pm\text{WH}$

According to this formulation, quien would occur under N^3, and que under -WH. Another possibility would be that COMP is expanded roughly as in (ii):

(ii) $\text{COMP} \longrightarrow (\text{P})\ \text{DET} \begin{bmatrix} N^x \\ \pm\text{WH} \end{bmatrix}$

Such an expansion would provide an explanation for the fact that quien and que can never cooccur, and would

make the statement that <u>que</u> is inserted by rule (184) only if (182) has not inserted <u>quien</u> unnecessary. This is a possibility which needs to be further explored.

Chapter 5. Comparatives

5.1 The Quantifier Phrase

In this discussion of comparatives I will use the notion of QP, quantifier phrase, as is used by Bresnan (1973). A QP can "modify" a noun phrase:[1]

(1) Aquí hay poca luz

'There is little light here'

(2) ¿Me pones más pescado?

'Will you give me more fish?'

(3) No me apetece oir más discos

'It doesn't appeal to me to hear more records'

(4) No comeré más de esa paella

'I won't eat (any) more of that paella'

(5) Nos queda poco del dinero que nos mandaron

'We have little of the money that they sent us left'

(6) No he leído mucho de esa revista

'I haven't read much of that magazine'

Or a QP can behave like an NP:[2]

(7) Esta mañana mucho ha ocurrido

'This morning much has happened'

(8) Julio siempre pide más de lo que da

'Julius always asks for more than he gives'

(9) Me han contado muy poco

'They've told me very little'

(10) Me han contado menos de lo que yo había esperado

'They've told me less than I had hoped'

Or a QP can behave like an adverbial phrase:

(11) Habla más aprisa que yo

'He talks faster than I'

(12) Nadie habla más lento que Miguel

'Nobody talks more slowly than Miguel'

(13) ¿Quién sabe explicarlo de una manera menos confusa?

'Who knows how to explain it in a less confusing way?'

(14) No quiero dormir más

'I don't want to sleep (any) more'

(15) ¿No puedes hablar menos de prisa?

'Can't you speak less quickly?'

(16) Se quejó todavía más

'He complained still more'

(17) Tú eres menos nerviosa que él

'You are less nervous than he'

The following sentences are ambiguous, since the QP can be understood as either an object NP or an adverbial phrase:

(18) No quiero comer más

'I don't want to eat any more'

(19) Has leído muy poco

'You've read very little'

A QP can "modify" an adjective phrase:

(20) La cosa se puso todavía más seria

'The thing got even more serious'

(21) Es una película poco divertida

(lit.: It's a little amusing movie)

(approx.: 'It's not a very amusing movie')

(22) Es más pesado de lo que yo me había imaginado

'He's more of a drag than I had imagined'

(23) Estoy menos preocupada que antes

'I'm less worried than before'

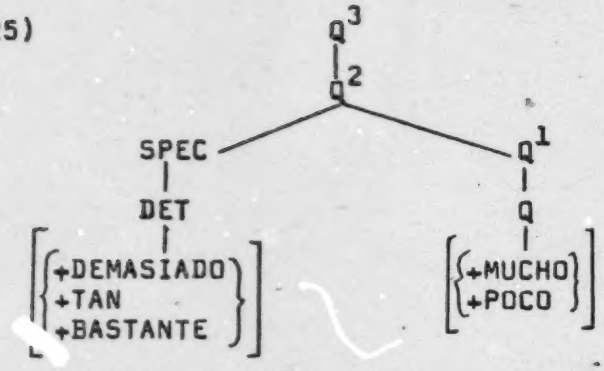
Bresnan (1973) points out that QPs like mucho, poco can specify either degree/extent or amount, and that the difference may be a function of grammatical contexts: "When 'modifying' adjectives, adverbs, predicative NPs, or VPs, they specify degree or extent, when modifying nonpredicative NPs or occurring substantivally, they specify amount." (283)

Comparative structures are characterized by the presence of a quantifier phrase. The following paradigm sheds some light on the underlying structure of certain QPs:

(24)(a)	mucho pan	poco pan
(b)	demasiado (*mucho) pan	demasiado poco pan
(c)	bastante (*mucho) pan	bastante poco pan
(d)	*tan mucho pan (tanto pan)	tan poco pan
(e)	tan (*mucho) coherente	tan poco coherente

I suggest that the QP has the following underlying structure:

(25)



(24b, c, e) suggest that the feature matrix which I have represented in (25) as (+MUCHO) is not realized after certain determiners, e.g. demasiado, bastante.

As can be seen in (24d), it seems that the feature matrices which I have represented in (25) as (TAN MUCHO) are mapped into tanto by the morphological rules when the QP does not "modify" an AP.

Now consider the comparative quantifiers:

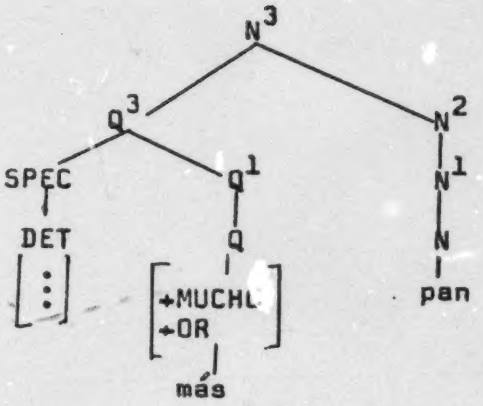
(26)(a) más pan

(b) menos pan

Tho the question needs more investigation, I will tentatively propose that in such cases a comparative feature, which I will call (+CR), is one of the features of the matrix which occurs under Q. As will be seen in 5.4, there are examples in which a DET can occur before a comparative quantifier (e.g., lo {más, menos} rápido posible), and for this reason it seems that the comparative feature may occur under Q, rather than under the SPECIFIER. The underlying structure which I suggest

for (26a), then, is (27):

(27)



From the following examples it can be seen that QPs can "modify" not only NPs, adjective phrases, and adverb phrases, but also other QPs:

(28) mucho más masoquista

'much more masochistic'

(29) (un) poco más realista

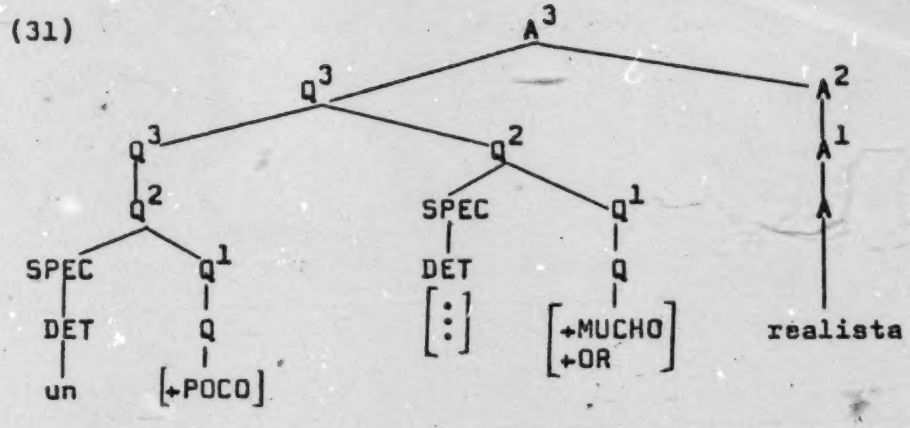
'(a) little more realistic'

(30) (un) poco menos machista

'(a) little less machista'

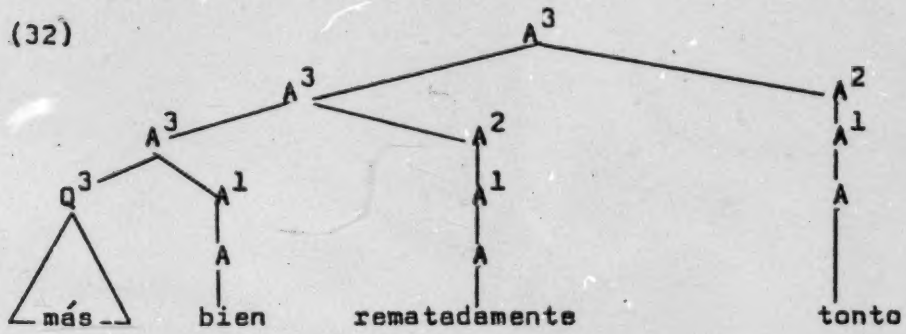
These examples demonstrate that there is recursion in the QP. Bresnan suggests that recursion is thru the Q^3 (1973). E.g., the underlying structure for (29) would be (31):

(31)



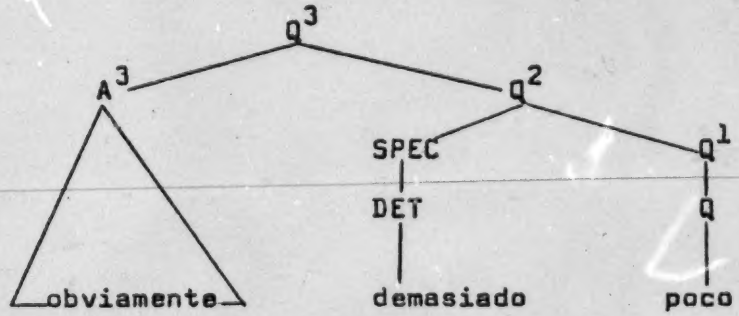
Note now that QP, like QP, is left-nesting:

(32)

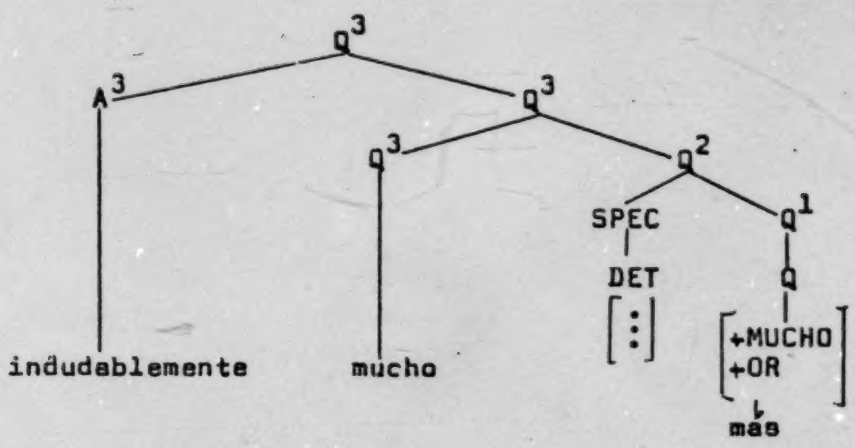


Not only can a QP "modify" a QP (as in (31), but an AP can also modify a QP:

(33)



(34)



Bresnan (1973) makes the following observations:

> Not only do QP and AP appear to have the same internal structure..., they appear to be interchangeable. ... One way of stating this fact would be to "collapse" the phrase structure rules for AP and QP. (293)

This can be done as follows:

(35) $\begin{Bmatrix} A^3 \\ Q^3 \end{Bmatrix} \longrightarrow \left(\begin{Bmatrix} A^3 \\ Q^3 \end{Bmatrix} \right) \quad \begin{Bmatrix} A^2 \\ Q^2 \end{Bmatrix}$

Again quoting from Bresnan,

> We could go one step further and adopt Chomsky's (1968) base schema hypothesis, which states that the phrase structure rules for a given grammar can be derived from a set of abstract rule schemata and a decomposition of the categories into features. The category QP would share features of AP and NP. (293).

It is possible, then, to write (36):

(36)(a) $X^3 \longrightarrow (X^3)\ X^2$

(b) $X^2 \longrightarrow (\text{SPEC},\ X^1)\ X^1$

X^3 corresponds to A^3, Q^3, and N^3. According to Bresnan, X^3 is "an archicategory, much as /D/ is an archiphoneme

comprehending /d/ and /t/." (293).

Spanish will then have the following rules:

(37)(a) $A^3 \longrightarrow (A^3)\ A^2$

(b) $A^2 \longrightarrow (SPEC,\ A^1)\ A^1$

(c) $SPEC,\ A^1 \longrightarrow ADV$

(38)(a) $Q^3 \longrightarrow (Q^3)\ Q^2$

(b) $Q^2 \longrightarrow (SPEC,\ Q^1)\ Q^1$

(c) $SPEC,\ Q^1 \longrightarrow DET\ (S)$

By comparing (38) with the rules which I gave in Chapter 4, which I repeat here as (39), it can be seen that NP and QP have the same internal structure:

(39)(a) $N^3 \longrightarrow (N^3)\ N^2$

(b) $N^2 \longrightarrow (SPEC,\ N^1)\ N^1$

(c) $SPEC,\ N^1 \longrightarrow DET\ (S)$

Recall that the optional S of (39c) can dominate a restrictive relative clause. In 5.3 it will be seen that the optional S of (38c) can dominate a comparative clause. Thus a restrictive relative clause "modifies" an NP in the same way that comparative clauses "modify" QPs.

5.2. Mucho and muy

Consider the following paradigms:

(40)(a) { muy / *mucho } alto poco alto

(b) { *muy / mucho } más alto (un) poco más alto

(41)(a) él come (*muy) mucho él come muy poco

(b) él come {*muy / mucho} él come poco

(42) él come {muy / *(muy) mucho} rápido

él come (muy) poco rápido

Several facts emerge from the paradigms:

(43)(a) Mucho cannot "modify" an adjective or an adverb, but poco can (40a, 42).

(b) Muy can "modify" poco, but it cannot "modify" mucho (41a, 42).

(c) Muy can "modify" an adjective, but not a verb or a noun (40a, 41b, 42).

(d) The form muy cannot "modify" mucho, as is shown in (41a).

A possible explanation for the mucho/muy complementarity would be that mucho and its reduced form muy are two surface realizations of the same underlying feature matrix. On phonological as well as semantic grounds such an explanation seems correct. The reduced form muy appears if no Q immediately to its right includes the feature (+QR) (cf. (30)), and before APs; otherwise the form that appears is mucho.

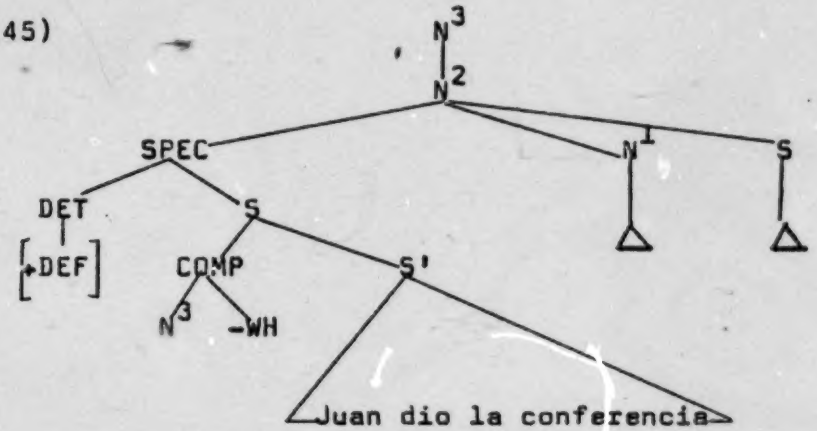
5.3. Comparative constructions and restrictive relative clauses

Utilizing the background of the previous sections, I now turn to an analysis of comparative constructions.

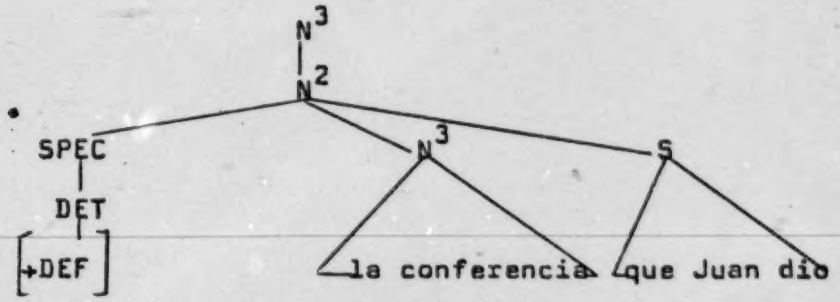
In my discussion of relative clauses I have assumed that restrictive relatives originate under the SPECIFIER of N^1 and that during the course of the derivation they are moved to the end of the NP by an extraposition transformation. E.g. the underlying structure and surface structure of (44) can be represented as (45, 46) respectively:

(44) La conferencia que Juan dio

(45)



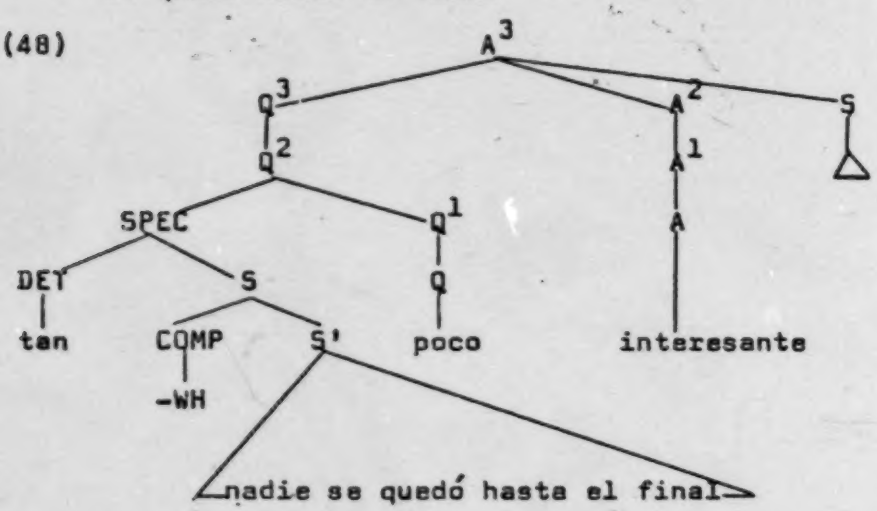
(46)



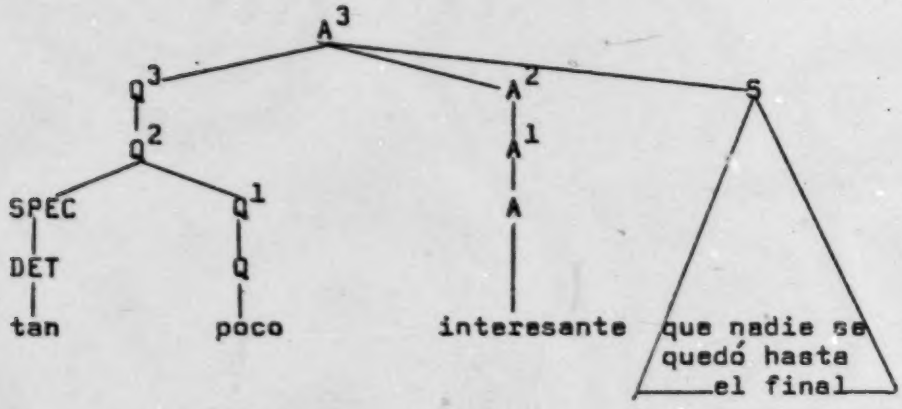
Similarly, I will assume that the comparative clause S originates under the SPEC of Q^1 and that it is extraposed to the end of the phrase which it "modifies." E.g. the underlying structure and surface structure of (47) could be represented as (48, 49) respectively:

(47) La conferencia fue tan poco interesante que nadie se quedó hasta el final

(48)



(49)



According to Bowers (1968),

The fact that the Adverbs so, too, more, and enough are closely associated with the Complements following the Adjective suggests that they are similar in deep structure to Nouns with Relative Clauses. (2)

Selkirk makes the following observations:

This "close association" which Bowers alludes to is the "government" by so, too, etc., of the type of complementizer on their sentential clauses. We find too and enough with for/to, more and less with than, as with as, and so with that. (1)

To use Bowers' examples, which are quoted by Selkirk (1-2):

(50) Bill is so tall that he can see over everybody else's heads

(51) The fence was too high for me to see over

(52) That car is more expensive than the one I bought

(53) Bill is taller than Harry is

(54) That car is big enough to carry eight people

(55) Florence is as odd as she always has been

Observe now that it is not possible for these particles to take other complimentizers:

(56) *Bill is so tall (for him) to be able to see over everybody else's heads

(57) *The fence was too high that I could see over it

(58) *Bill is taller for John to be

Similarly in Spanish, más and menos occur with que, and tan with como or que:

(59) Tomás es {menos / más} extravagante {que / *como} Miguel

'Thomas is {more / less} extravagant {than / *as} Miguel'

(60) Ana es tan inteligente {como / *que} Rita

'Anna is as inteligent {as / *that} Rita'

(61) Ana habló tan bien {que / *como} Rita se retiró del debate

'Anna spoke so well {that / *as} Rita withdrew from the debate

According to Selkirk,

> These facts about AP and NP might be considered as indicating that relative clauses and the complements of more, too, so, etc. are, at least, syntactic counterparts. I think that these clauses can be further characterized as semantic counterparts in that they modify or "specify" the heads of their respective major phrases. Relative clauses constrain or delimit the possible denotation of the head NOUN, while the degree clauses of AP serve to define the degree or extent to which NP is ADJ. ... Considering these parallels, it is not surprising that the clauses of both types should exhibit further similarities. (5-6)

Bowers (1968) has noted that the rule which extraposes relative clauses could be collapsed with the rule needed to extrapose comparative clauses.

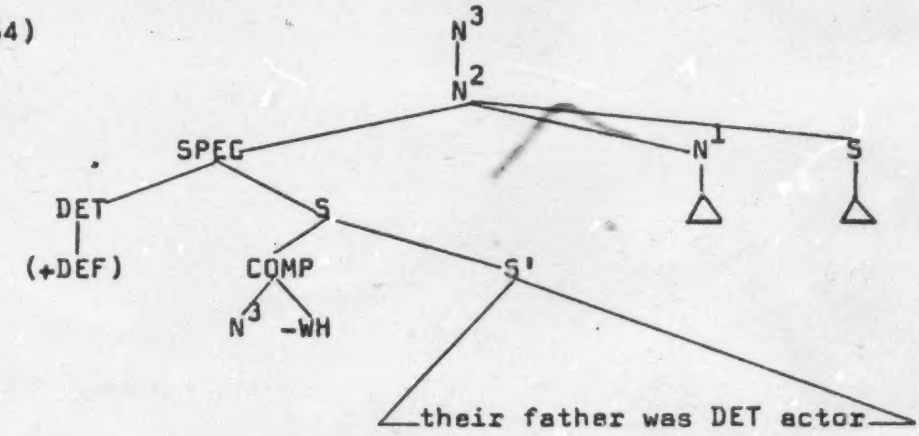
In Chapter 4 I suggested that the relativized N^3 is promoted out of the relative clause S and inserted into the $N^1(\triangle)$ which occurs in the matrix S. It might seem possible, then, to extend the promotional analysis to comparative clauses as well. But such an analysis would seem unwise for English, in view of the following examples, which are discussed by Vergnaud:

(62) They are much better actors than their father (was)

(63)(a) They are not the actors that their {parents were
(b) {*father was}

The underlying structure for the ungrammatical (63b) would have to be as follows:[3]

(64)



DET actor would be marked (-PLURAL) by the agreement rule on the relative clause cycle. Once it is promoted, on the matrix cycle it is marked (+PLURAL). (63b) is marked ungrammatical because it contains a noun which is both (+PLURAL) and (-PLURAL). The contrast between Ss like (62) and (63) follows naturally from the assumption that (63), which contains a relative clause, involves promotion, but (62), which contains a comparative clause, does not.

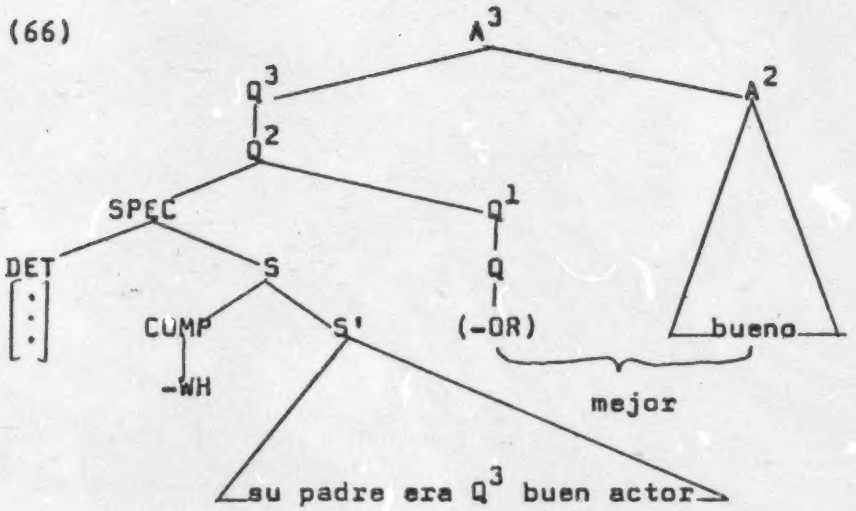
Note that sentences similar to (62) are also possible in Spanish:

(65) Juan es mejor actor que su padre

'John is (a) better actor than his father'

I assume that the partial underlying structure would be (66):

(66)



Note that if promotion were assumed here, another problem would arise. For it seems that the QP in the matrix S is different than the QP in the comparative clause. The sentence (65) is understood roughly as 'John is a good actor to a greater degree than his father.' Promotion does not appear to be involved, since the QP in the matrix S is understood as different from the QP in the comparative S.

Having established some of the similarities and differences between restrictive relative clauses and comparative clauses, in the following section I will examine the structure of certain comparative clauses in more detail.

5.4. Lo in comparative clauses.

Consider the following sentences:

(67) Todavía estoy cansada, a pesar de lo (mucho) que he dormido

(lit.: I'm still tired, in spite of the (much) I've slept)

(approx.: 'I'm still tired, in spite of how much I've slept')

(68) ¿No tienes verguënza de lo poco que sabes?

(lit.: Don't you have shame of the little that you know?)

(approx.: 'Aren't you ashamed of how little you know?')

(69) La felicitaron por lo bien que había dado la clase

(lit.: They congratulated her for the well that she had given the class)

(approx.: 'They congratulated her on account of how well she had given the class')

It can be easily demonstrated that the lo in such Ss does not derive by Relative Reduction. E.g., (70-72) are examples of Relative Reduction:

(70) las que son altas ⟹ las altas

(71) las que son bajas ⟹ las bajas

(72) lo que es mejor ⟹ lo mejor

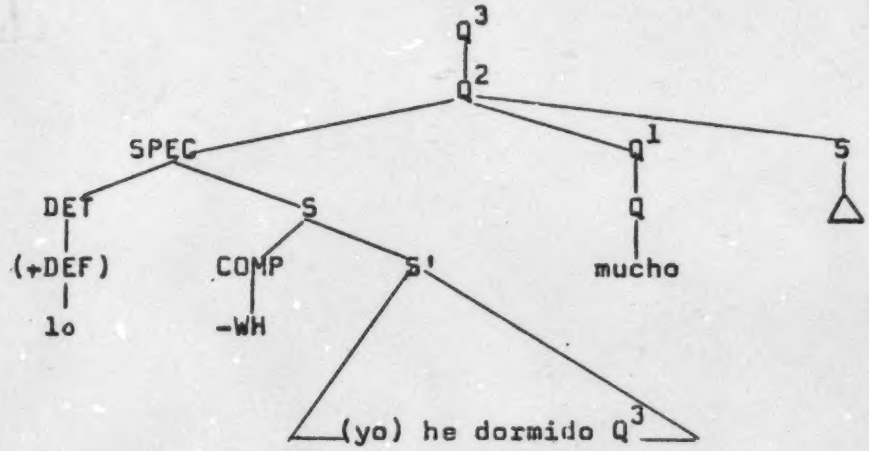
But it can be seen that (73-75) would be ungrammatical if que and a form of ser (or estar) occurred in the string:

(73) lo (*que es) mucho que he dormido

(74) lo (*que es) poco que sabes

(75) lo (*que está) bien que había dado la clase

The lo which occurs initially in strings like (67-69) cannot be the DET of a headless relative NP. I suggest rather that it is the DET of a QP. I propose the following partial underlying structure for (67):



If lo is taken to be the DET of the QP in strings like (67-69), this is consistent with the fact that lo can occur only if the QP contains no other DET:

(74) No me encuentro mal, a pesar de lo { mucho / poco / *bastante (poco) / *demasiado (poco) / *tanto / *tan poco } que he bebido

Now consider these examples:

(75) Lo he hecho {lo / *ø} mejor que he sabido

'I did it the best I knew how'

(76) Lo he hecho {*lo / ø} mejor que Juan

'I did it better than John'

(77) He venido {lo / *ø} más rápido que he podido

(lit.: I've come the fastest that I could)

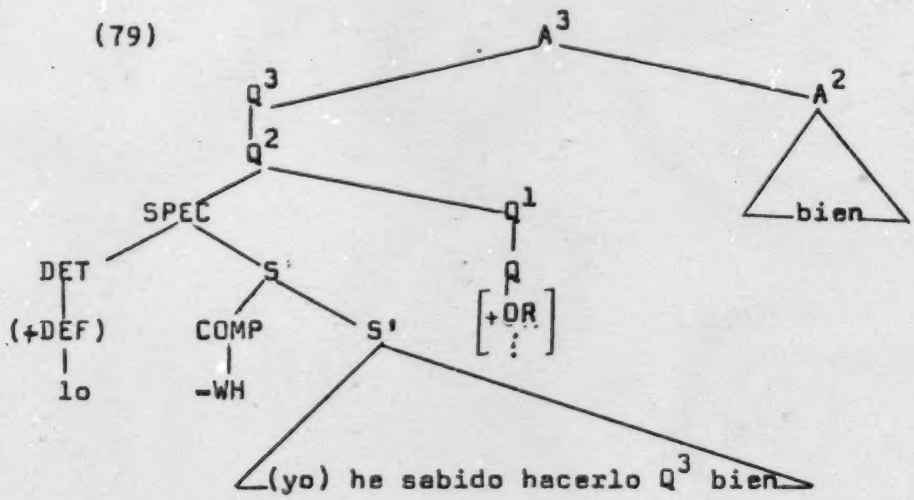
(approx.: 'I've come as fast as I could')

(78) He venido $\left\{\begin{matrix}*lo\\ \emptyset\end{matrix}\right\}\left\{\begin{matrix}más\\ menos\end{matrix}\right\}$ rápido que tú

'I've come $\left\{\begin{matrix}faster\\ less\ fast\end{matrix}\right\}$ than you'

The function of lo here seems to be that of the universal quantifier. When lo occurs before forms which have the feature I have tentatively called (+OR), such constructions are understood as superlatives.[4] The DET of the QP in (75) and (77), but not in (76) and (78), appears to dominate the feature (+DEFINITE). E.g., the partial underlying structure of (75) would be as follows:

(79)



5.5. Comparisons of equality

I have noted in 5.1 that Ss like the following are ambiguous:

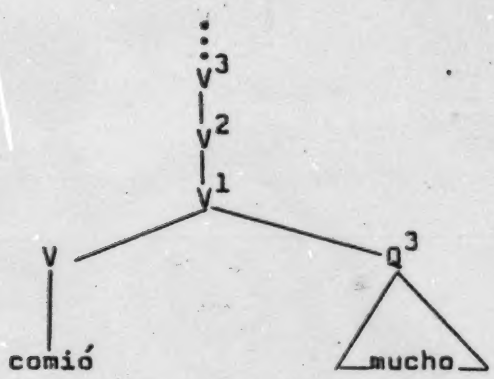
(80) Juan comió mucho

'John ate a lot'

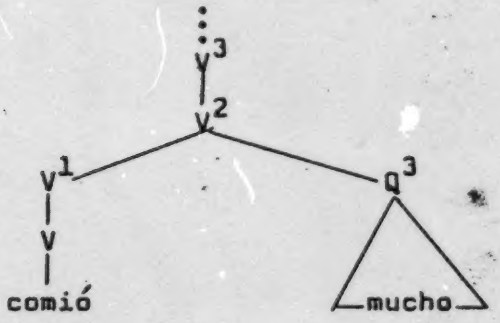
The QP mucho may be understood as an NP, in which case it signifies amount, or as an AP, in which case it signifies

degree or extent. The respective structures may be (81) and (82):

(81)



(82)



The comparative structures which I will now consider are characterized by the presence of a QP in the matrix S and a nondistinct QP in the embedded S. The QPs may be understood as either NPs or as adverbial phrases, but both must be understood in the same way. The comparative clause, as before, originates under the DET of the matrix QP and is later obligatorily extraposed.

In the preceding section I have proposed an analysis in which lo can be the DET of a QP. This analysis, together with the fact that in certain contexts QPs can be understood

either as NPs or as QPs, should be kept in mind when considering the following Ss:

(83) He dormido lo que todos han dormido (ni más, ni menos)

(lit.: I've slept the COMP everyone has slept)

(approx.: 'I've slept as much as everyone has slept (no more, no less)')

(84) Yo sé lo que saben los demás

(lit.: I know the COMP the rest know)

(approx.: 'I know as much as the rest know')

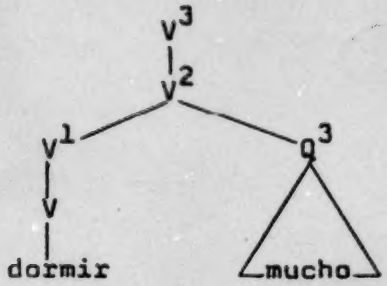
(85) Yo leí lo que vosotros leísteis

(lit.: I read the COMP you read)

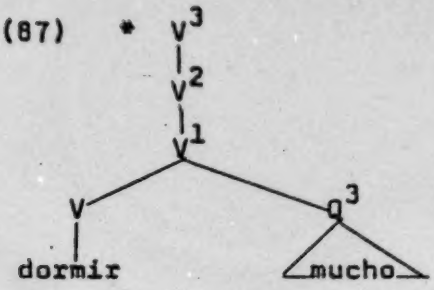
(approx.: 'I read as much as you read')

Sentences (83-85) can be understood as comparisons of equality. Note that while in (83) the QP can only be understood as an AP, and while in (84) the QP can only be understood as a direct object, in (85) it may be understood as either a direct object or as an AP. This is because dormir, unlike leer and saber, cannot take a direct object. And saber, unlike leer and dormir, cannot be "modified" by adverbial QPs such as mucho, poco. The situation is summarized in the following trees:

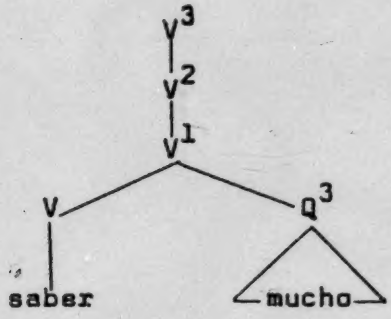
(86)



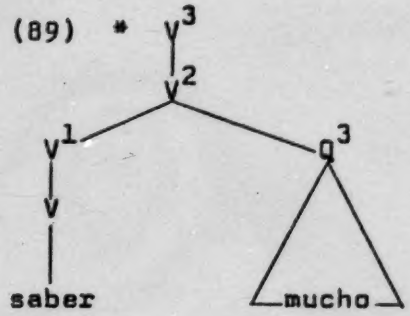
NOT: (87) *



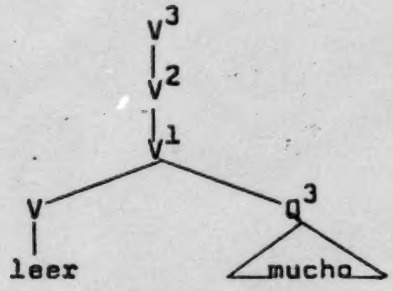
(88)



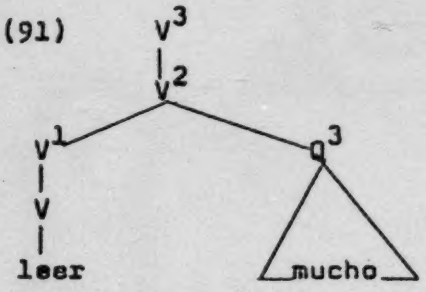
NOT: (89) *



(90)

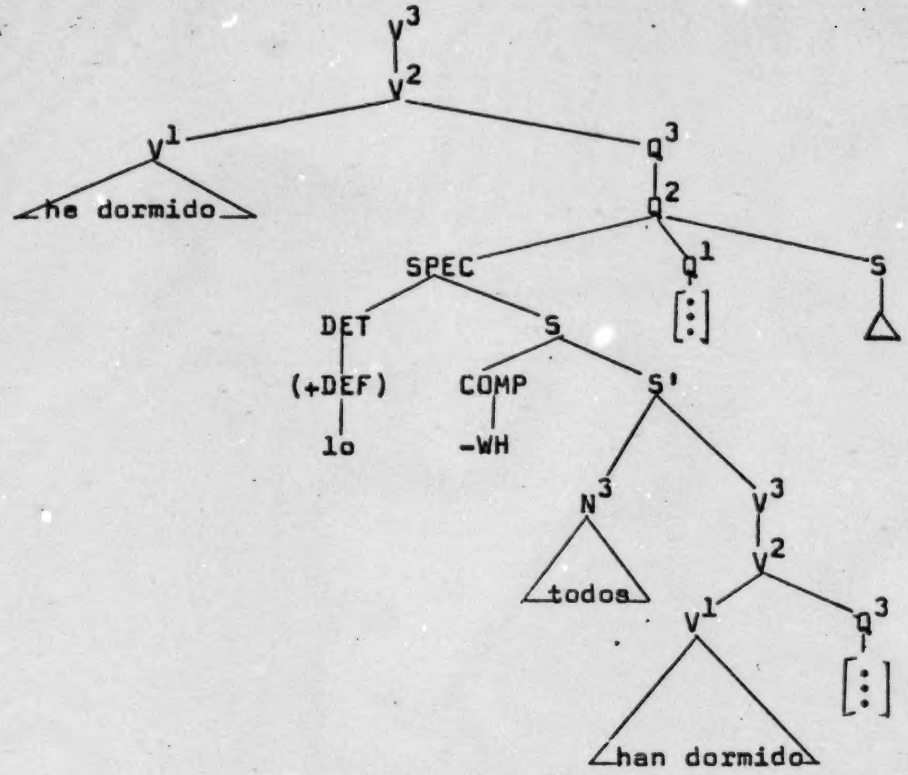


OR: (91)

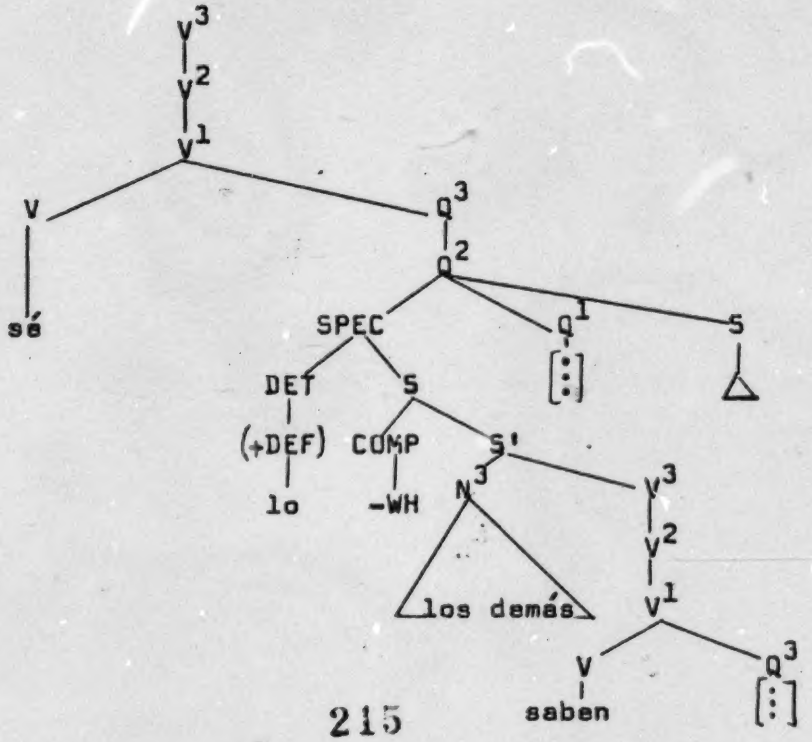


The comparative reading of (85) is thus ambiguous, since the QP can be understood as an AP or an NP, but the comparative readings for (83) and (84) are not. This is reflected in the following trees, which I take to represent the partial underlying structures for the comparative readings of these sentences:

(92)


V3
V2
V1
he dormido
Q3
Q2
SPEC
Q1
S
DET
S
(+DEF)
COMP
S'
lo
-WH
N3
V3
todos
V2
V1
Q3
han dormido

(93)


V3
V2
V1
V
Q3
Q2
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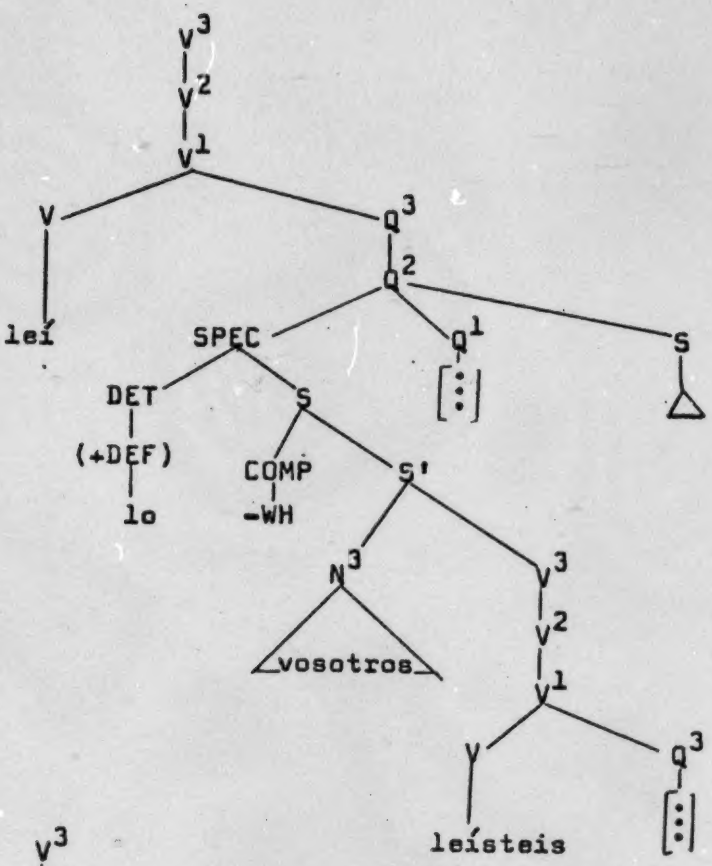
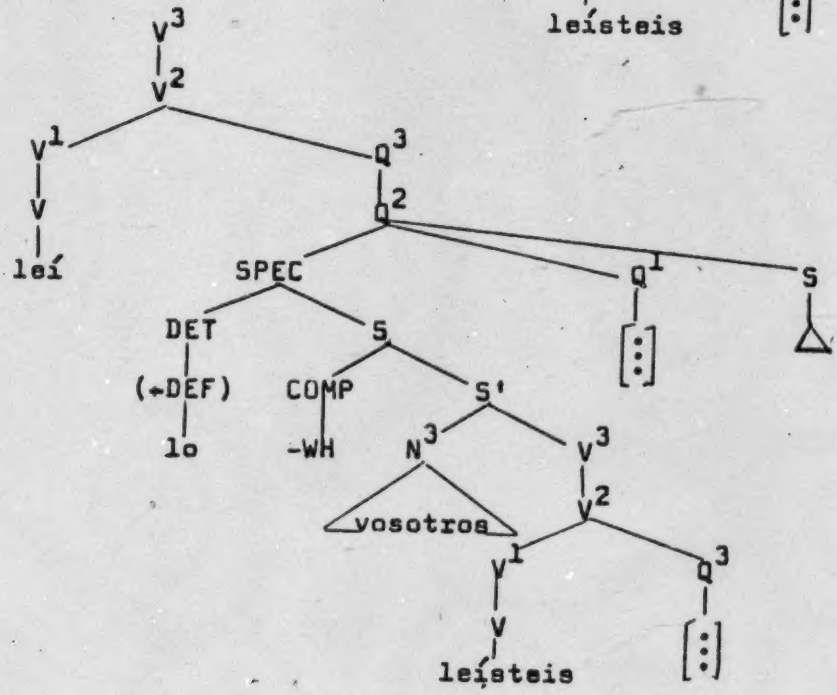
SPEC
Q1
S
DET
S
(+DEF)
COMP
S'
lo
-WH
N3
V3
V2
los demás
V1
V
Q3
saben

(94)


V3
V2
V1
V
Q3
Q2
leí
SPEC
Q1
S
DET
S
(+DEF)
COMP
S'
lo
-WH
N3
V3
vosotros
V2
V1
V
Q3
leísteis

(95)


V3
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Q3
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It can be seen that in the trees (92-95) I have shown both the matrix Q and that of the comparative clause as dominating an unspecified set of features. I believe that the quantifier in such structures is unspecified. For note that an S like (84), repeated here as (96), can be followed by either (a) or (b) below:

(96) Yo sé lo que saben los demás,

(a) y es bien poco

(b) y es muchísimo

'I know as much as the rest know,

(a) and it's very little

(b) and it's a whole lot'

Now compare (96) with(97) and (98):

(97) Yo sé lo mucho que saben los demás (# y es bien poco)

(98) Yo sé lo poco que saben los demás, (# y es muchísimo)

I.e. lo mucho is understood to mean a lot, lo poco is understood to mean a little, and lo que is understood to mean an unspecified amount. Structures like those in (97, 98), which cannot be understood as comparatives, will be discussed below.)

In addition to the comparative interpretation, (84) and (85), but not (83), can also be interpreted as containing a relative clause whose head is PRO (+DEFINITE, -HUMAN). (This PRO has been discussed in 2.1.) On this reading (84) and (85) could be paraphrased roughly as (99) and (100)

respectively:

(99) Yo sé aquello que saben los demás

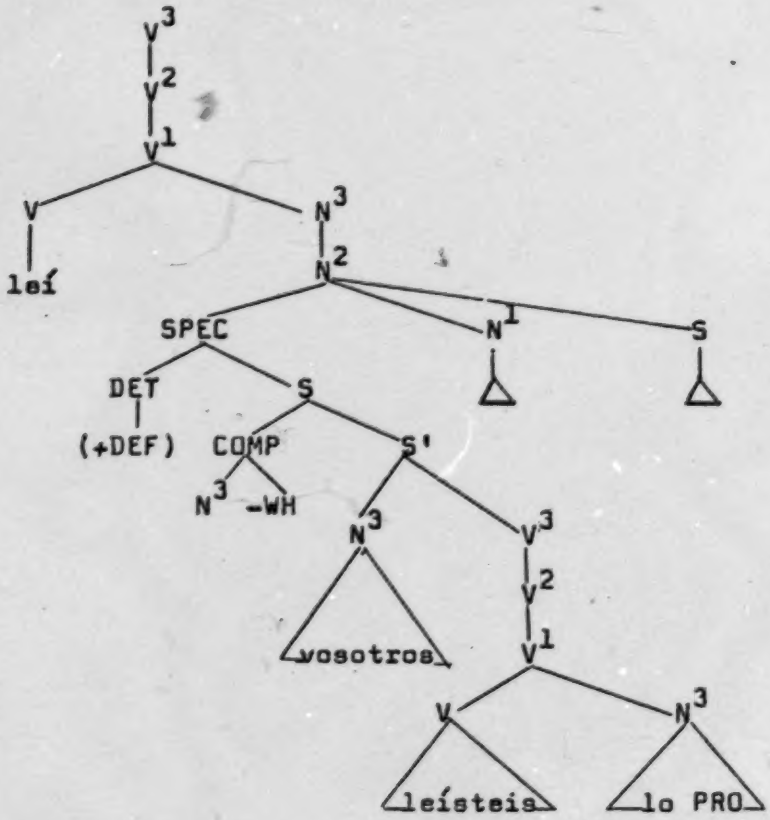
'I know that which the rest know'

(100) Yo leí aquello que vosotros leísteis

'I read that which you read'

The partial underlying structure of this reading of (85) is (101):

(101)



((83) (He dormido lo que todos han dormido) is not open to this interpretation because dormir cannot take a direct object. Note the ungrammaticality of (102):

(102) *He dormido aquello que todos han dormido)

Still other interpretations of (84) and (85) are possible. Note that (84) and (85) can be paraphrased as (103) and (104) respectively:[5]

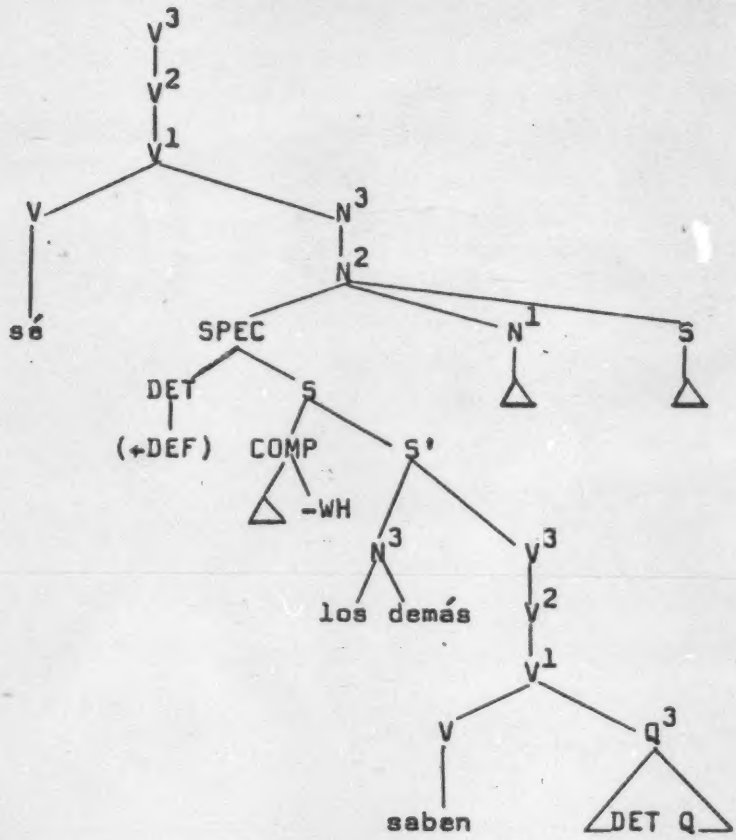
(103) Yo sé cuánto saben los demás
'I know how much the rest know

(104) Yo leí cuánto vosotros leísteis
'I read how much you read'

(83) is not open to this latter interpretation, either, again because verbs like dormir do not admit direct objects. (Neither do they admit sentential complements: *He dormido cuánto todos han dormido.)

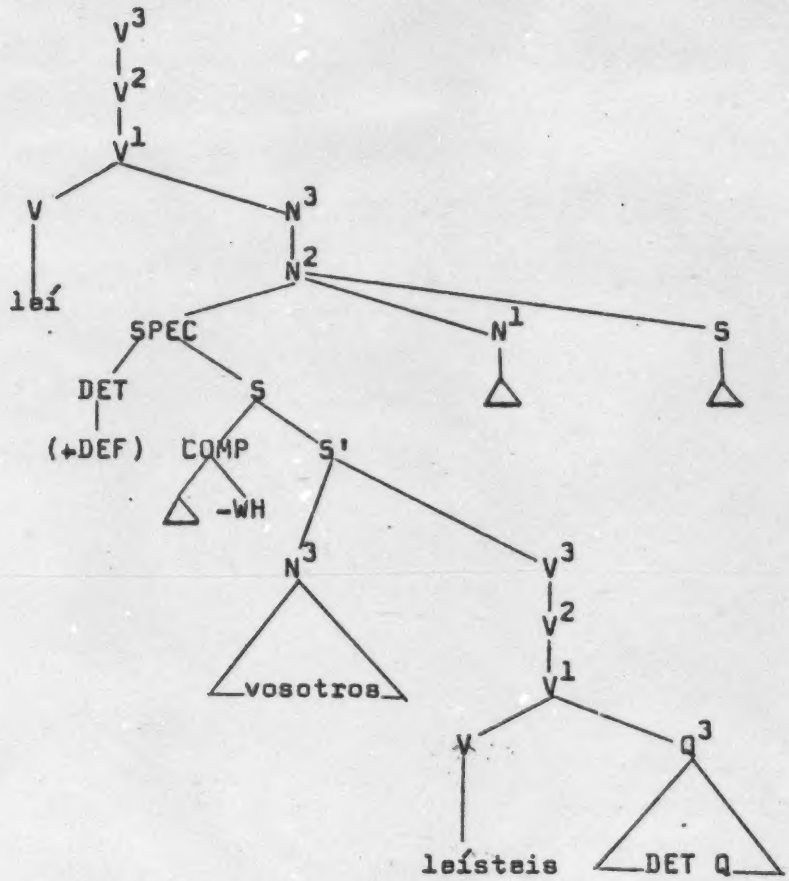
The readings of (84, 85) which I am now considering seem to involve relativization, as do the readings which are paraphrased as (99, 100). But this time what is promoted is a QP. It would not be surprising that QPs as well as NPs could be promoted, since QPs and NPs might have some feature in common (cf. fn. 2). The underlying structure of (84) (yo sé lo que saben los demás) on this reading would be (105):[6]

(105)



There are two possible readings of (85) (Yo leí lo que vosotros leísteis) which are both paraphraseable as (104) (Yo leí cuánto vosotros leísteis). In both cases relativization is involved, and in both cases what is promoted is a QP. But in one instance the QP functions as the direct object of leer, and in the other case the QP functions adverbially. The partial underlying structure in which the QP is understood as the direct object of leer is (106):

(106)

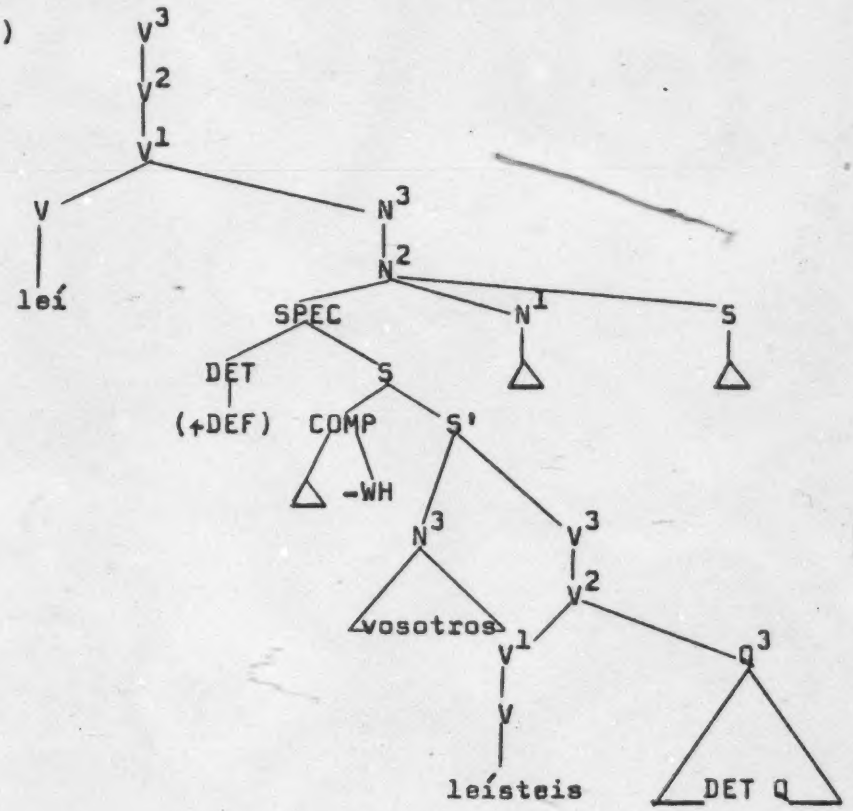


The S whose partial underlying structure is (106) would be appropriate in a situation in which I've read (e.g. in a newspaper) that you've read one hundred books. I've learned the amount that you've read, without having actually read the material itself. While the comparative Yo leí lo que vosotros leísteis (with the QPs understood as direct objects) might be roughly translated in English as 'I read the same amount that you read,' the non-comparative interpretation now under consideration might be roughly translated as 'I read the amount that you read.' (Note that in English

the word same must appear in surface structure when the meaning approximates that of the Spanish comparative, i.e. the version in which the QPs are nondistinct.) The idea conveyed in the non-comparative is roughly 'I read that you read a certain amount.'

The partial underlying structure of the second reading of the paraphrase (104) would be (107):

(107)



This S would be appropriate if I had read (e.g. in a newspaper) that you had been reading for several weeks straight. It means roughly 'I read the extent to which you read.' (Cf. 'I read that you read to a certain extent.')

To summarize thus far, an S like (85) (Yo leí lo que vosotros leísteis) is five-ways ambiguous, having the following approximate paraphrases:

(108) Yo leí tanto como vosotros leísteis

(109) Yo leí aquello que vosotros leísteis

(110) Yo leí cuánto vosotros leísteis

The reading which is paraphrased as (108) is ambiguous. On one reading the QP is understood as the direct object of both the matrix S and the comparative clause; on the other reading the QP is understood to modify both the verb in the matrix S and the verb in the comparative clause.

The reading which is paraphrased as (109) involves relativization of the (+DEFINITE) lo PRO.

The reading which can be paraphrased as (110) has two possible readings, both of which involve relativization. In one reading the promoted QP is the object of leer, while in the other the QP functions adverbially.

The sentence (84)(Yo sé lo que saben los demás) has been seen to be three-ways ambiguous, having the following three possible paraphrases:

(111) Yo sé tanto como saben los demás

(112) Yo sé aquello que saben los demás

(113) Yo sé cuánto saben los demás

In (83-85) I have suggested that the underlying QP was unspecified. Now consider the following examples:

(114) He dormido lo {*mucho / *poco} que todos han dormido

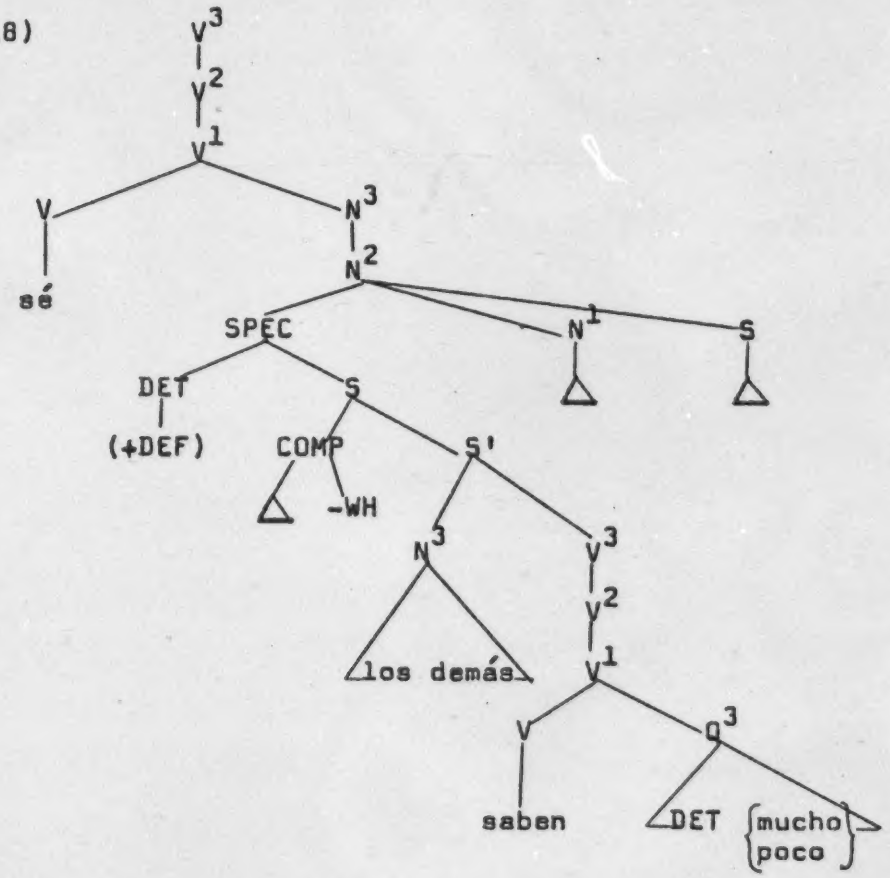
(115) Yo sé lo {mucho / poco} que saben los demás

(116) Yo leí lo {mucho / poco} que saben los demás

(117) Todos saben lo {mucho / poco} que vosotros dormís

The underlying structure of (115) looks like (118):

(118)



Note that the underlying structure (118) differs from (105) in that the relativized Q^3 is unspecified in (105), while in (118) it is either poco or mucho. Observe that

(115-117) cannot be understood as comparatives. (This explains the ungrammaticality of (114), since dormir cannot take a direct object.) It seems, then, that the QP must be unspecified in comparisons of equality.

The comparisons of equality which I have considered thus far have involved a definite unspecified QP. Now consider the following:

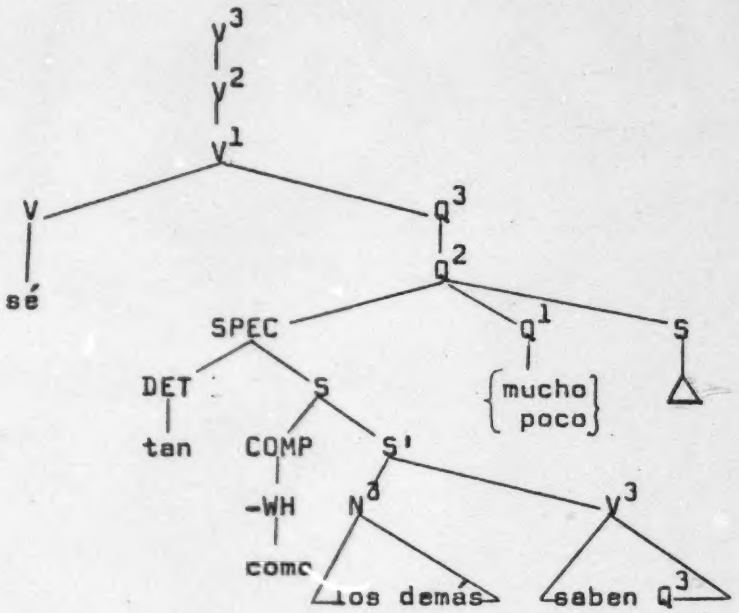
(119) He dormido {tanto / tan poco} como todos han dormido

(120) Yo sé {tanto / tan poco} como saben los demás

(121) Yo leí {tanto / tan poco} como vosotros leísteis

It seems that the underlying structure of (120) would be (122):

(122)



It seems that in such comparatives, unlike the ones which contain lo que, the underlying Q can be either mucho or poco. The COMP which is inserted in such cases is como.

5.6. Comparisons of inequality and partitives

Consider the following paradigm:

(123) más (*los) hombres

(124) más de los hombres

(125) tantas (*las) mujeres

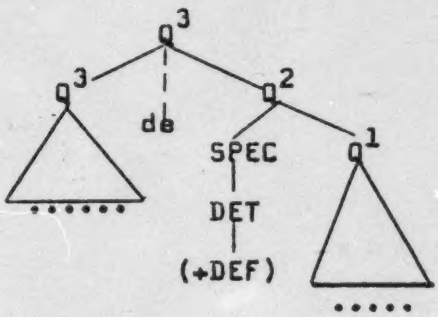
(126) tantas de las mujeres

(127) pocos (*los) niños

(128) pocos de los niños

I assume that the de which occurs before the definite NPs in these examples is inserted by a transformational rule (cf. fn. 1). I believe a similar rule also inserts de before definite QPs which occur in the following configuration:

(128 bis)



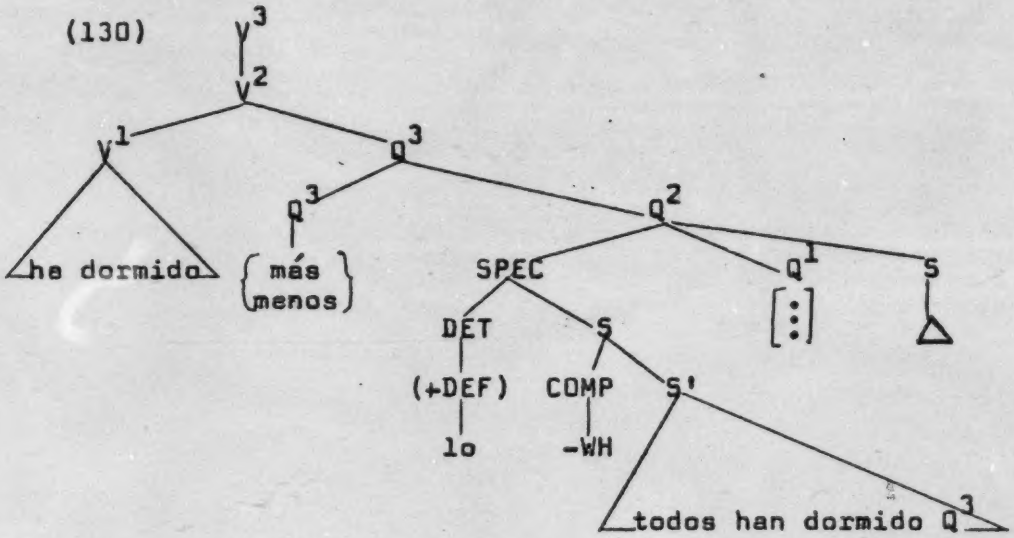
Such a rule, together with the phrase structure rule $Q^3 \longrightarrow (Q^3)\ Q^2$, will be needed to account for comparisons of inequality like (129):

(129) He dormido {más / menos} de lo que todos han dormido

'I've slept {more / less} than everyone has slept'

The underlying structure, then, is roughly as follows:

(130)



Now note that (131) and (132) are ambiguous, tho (129) is not:

(131) Sé más de lo que saben los demás

(132) Leí más de lo que vosotros leísteis

The difference has to do with the fact that the verb in (129), dormir, cannot take a direct object, but the verbs in (131, 132) can. In (131, 132) más de lo que ... can be understood either as a comparative, or as a partitive. E.g., (131) could be translated as either (133) or (134):

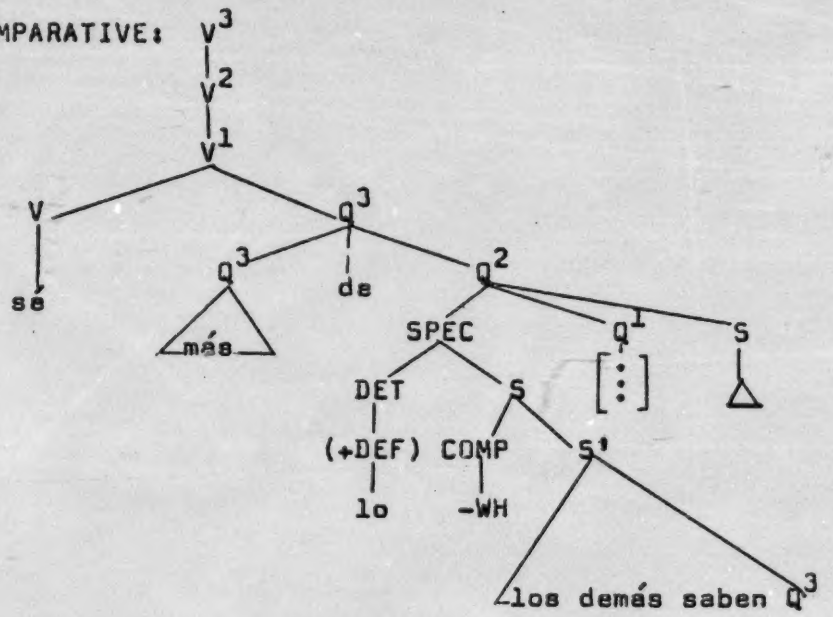
(133) I know more than the rest know (COMPARATIVE)

(134) I know more of what the rest know (PARTITIVE)

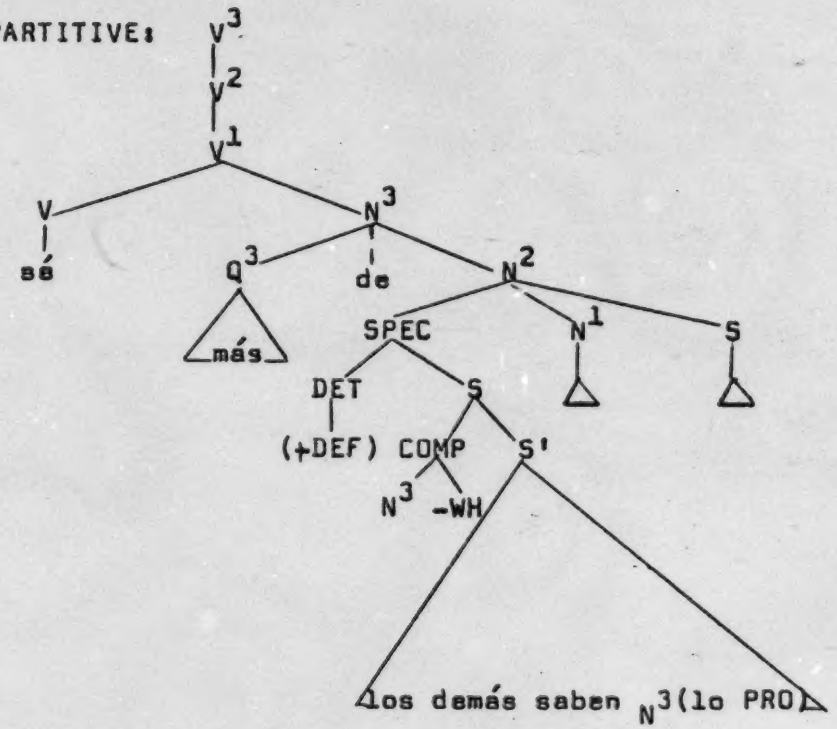
I suggest that the respective underlying structures for

the comparative and the partitive readings of (131) are (135) and (136):

(135) COMPARATIVE:



(136) PARTITIVE:



As can be seen in the trees, in the partitive construction the QP más "modifies" an NP with a relative clause, while in the comparative it modifies a QP which contains a comparative clause. In the partitive, the embedded S contains no QP, but in the comparative, a QP occurs in the embedded S. The comparative clause is embedded under the DET of a QP, while the relative clause is embedded under the DET of an NP.

Now compare the following examples:

(137) Juan quería más de la tarta que le habían dado

'John wanted more of the cake that they had given him'

(138) Juan quería más tarta de la que le habían dado

'John wanted more cake than they had given him'

(139) Juan quería más de la tarta de la que le habían dado

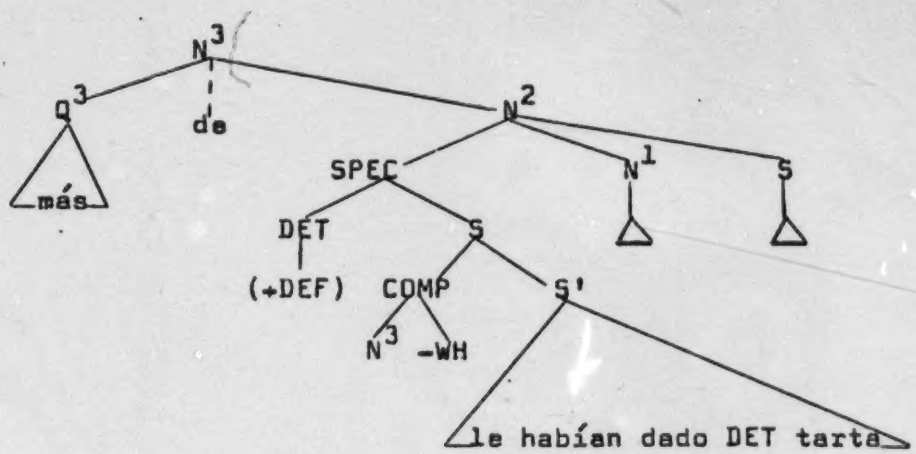
'John wanted more of the cake than they had given him'

(140) *Juan quería más tarta que le habían dado

'*John wanted more cake that they had given him'

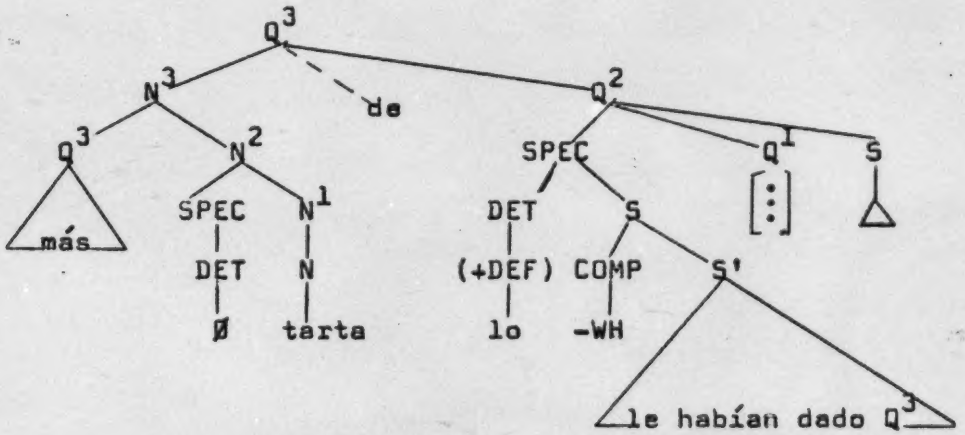
(137) is a partitive which contains a relative clause. Its structure is (141):

(141)



Tho the matter needs further invectigation, it seems that (138) is a comparative whose structure may be roughly (142):

(142):



Note the ungrammaticality of the second occurrence of tarta in (143), which is consistent with the proposed structure (142):

(143) Quería más de la tarta de la (*tarta) que le habían dado

(139) is also a comparative. It's underlying structure is as in (142), except that the first occurrence of tarta in

(139) is definite. The de is later inserted (cf. fn. 2).

(140), which can be seen to be ungrammatical, appears to involve a confusion between relative and comparative structures.

Now consider the following examples:

(144)(a) Juan comió más tarta { de la que / *que } comió Mario

'John ate more cake than Mario ate'

(b) Juan comió más tarta { *de la que / que } Mario

'John ate more cake than Mario'

(145)(a) Juan durmió más { de lo que / *que } durmió Mario

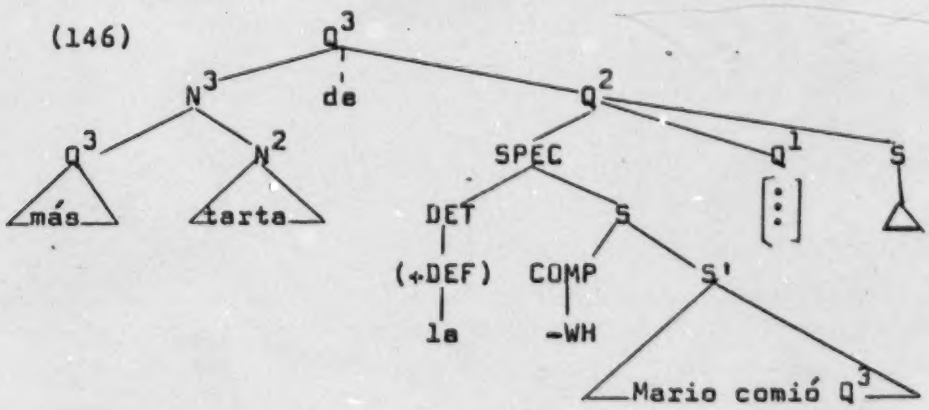
'John slept more than Mario slept'

(b) Juan durmió más { *de lo que / que } Mario

'John slept more than Mario'

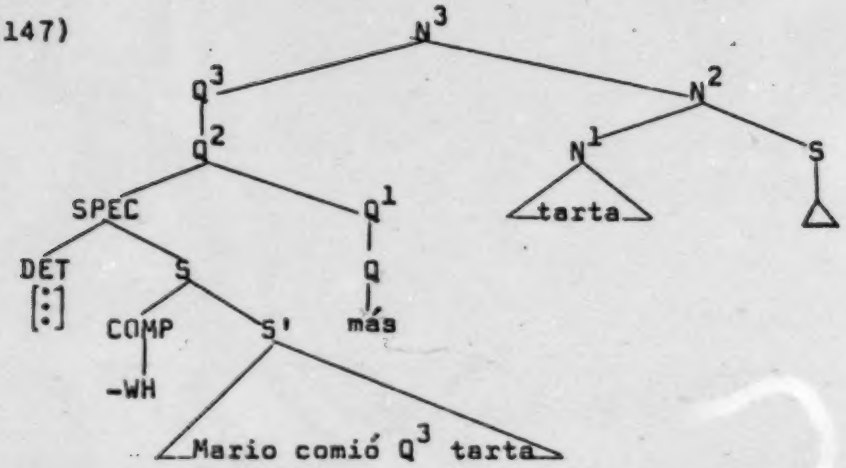
I have analyzed Ss like (144a) as having an underlying structure like (146):

(146)



I suggest that the structure underlying Ss like (144b) may be as follows:

(147)



I.e. in (146) an NP "modifies" a QP, and in (147) a QP "modifies" an NP. The two structures can be seen to differ slightly, yet they are alike enough to explain the similarity in meaning between pairs like (144a, b).

Now consider (148-151):

(148) Los americanos comen más carne que pescado

(149) Los americanos comen carne más que pescado

(150) Los americanos comen más carne que los japoneses

(151) Los americanos comen carne más que los japoneses

The difference between (148, 150), in contrast with (149, 151), is that while the QP <u>más</u> "modifies" an NP in the former, in the latter it modifies a VP. This is obvious when Ss like (148) and (149) are passivized:

(152) Más carne es comida por los americanos que pescado

(153) La carne es comida más por los americanos que el pescado

(154) La carne es comida por los americanos más que el pescado

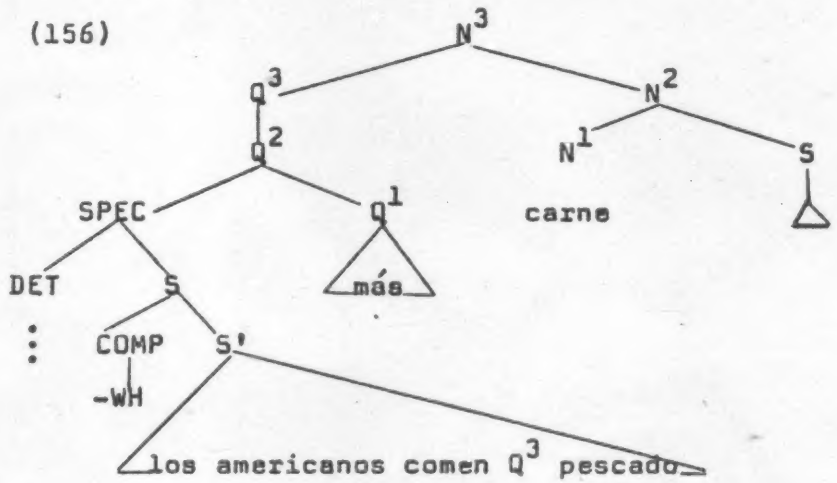
When the QP <u>más</u> is immediately dominated by an NP, as in (148), if the S is passivized the QP moves with the NP which dominates it, as in (152); when the QP occurs under VP, as in (149), it does not move when the NP is fronted, as is seen in (153, 154).

Note that the passive version of (148) could also be (155):

(155) Más carne que pescado es comida por los americanos

This suggests that at the point of the passive transformation <u>más carne que pescado</u> must be one NP. The underlying structure may be (156):

(156)



Presumably after the S is passivized, the comparative clause S may be extraposed to the end of the string. (155) would

be transformed into (152).

Now consider (150). Tho superficially it may seem similar to (148) in that in both cases the surface structure is más NP que NP, the two structures behave differently under transformation. Recall that the passive transformation when applied to (148) may produce either (152) or (155), but when (150) is passivized the result can only be (158), not (157):

(157) *Más carne que los japoneses es comida por los americanos

(158) Más carne es comida por los americanos que por los japoneses

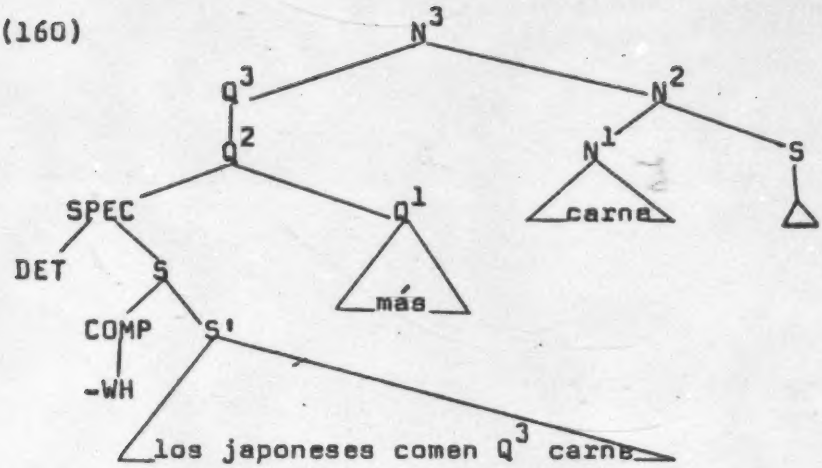
The explanation seems to be that Extraposition in such cases is obligatory. If más carne que los japoneses were not a single NP at the time Passive applied, and if NP preposing moved only más carne, the result would be the ungrammatical (159):

(159) *Más carne es comida que los japoneses por los americanos

For NP postposing moves the subject NP to the end of the string. But since (157) is ungrammatical, I assume that (158) is derived from (157) by Extraposition. If this occurred after NP postposing, it would explain why it is that por los americanos is not in final position in (158).

I suggest that the structure underlying (150) is (160):

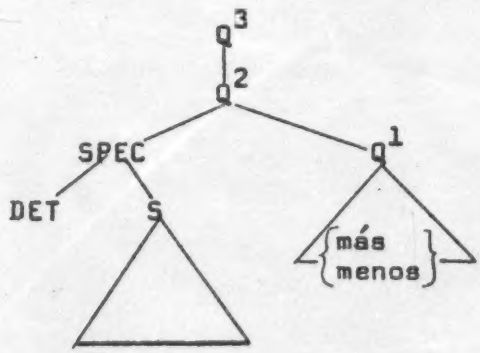
(160)



It seems that Extraposition is optional if the two NPs of <u>más NP que NP</u> have parallel grammatical functions in their respective Ss; otherwise it is obligatory.

I will now consider more in detail the restrictions on certain <u>más que</u> constructions. I have suggested that one such construction occurs when an S is embedded in the following configuration:

(161)



In view of the following examples, I conclude that the QP of the comparative clause cannot occur in surface structure. The verb of the comparative clause cannot occur in surface structure, either, if it is nondistinct from the verb of the

matrix S:

(162) Juan ha nadado más que Tomás (*ha nadado)

(163) Juan ha bebido más vino que Tomás (*ha bebido) leche

(164) Luisa estudió más que su hermano (*estudió)

It has been seen that the verb and the QP of the embedded S cannot occur in surface structure. Note now that no other elements which are nondistinct from those of the matrix S can occur in surface structure, either:

(165) Los americanos comen más carne que los japoneses

(a) (*comen QP carne)

(b) (*comen QP) pescado

(166) Juan$_i$ es más listo que (a) (*él$_i$ es) bueno

(b) Mario (*es listo)

(c) Mario (*es) bueno

Recall that in relative clauses the relativized NP is promoted, and nothing deletes from the relative clause S. E.g.,

(167) El hombre que había comido pescado había comido carne también

'The man that had eaten fish had eaten meat too'

(168) El hombre que el pescado había comido había comido carne también

'The man that the fish had eaten had eaten meat too'

Note that in (167, 168) the verbs of the matrix and relative clause Ss are nondistinct, yet the verb of the relative clause S does not delete.

Now consider the following paradigm:

(169) Yo leí más de las páginas que tú

(170) Yo leí más de las páginas que tú leíste

(171) Yo leí más de las páginas de las que tú leíste

Note that (169) can only be understood as a comparative, because the embedded V deletes; and (170) can only be understood as containing an NP with a relative clause, because the embedded V does <u>not</u> delete. If the deletion of the verb in comparative clauses such as these were not obligatory, an S like (170) should be ambiguous, being either a comparative or a relative.

Such problems don't arise in English, since English uses <u>that</u> for relatives and <u>than</u> for comparatives, while Spanish uses <u>que</u> for both. Compare (170) and (171) with (172) and (173), their respective English translations:

(172) I read more of the pages <u>that</u> you read

(173) I read more of the pages <u>than</u> you read

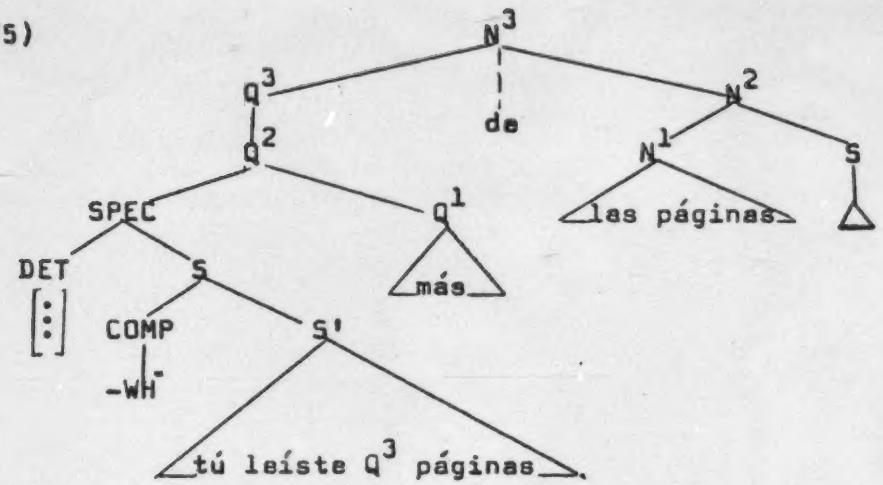
In Ss like (173) deletion of the verb of the comparative clause is a possibility:

(174) I've read more of the pages than you

But even if the verb does not delete, there can be no confusion between Ss like (172) and (173) because of the difference in complementizers.

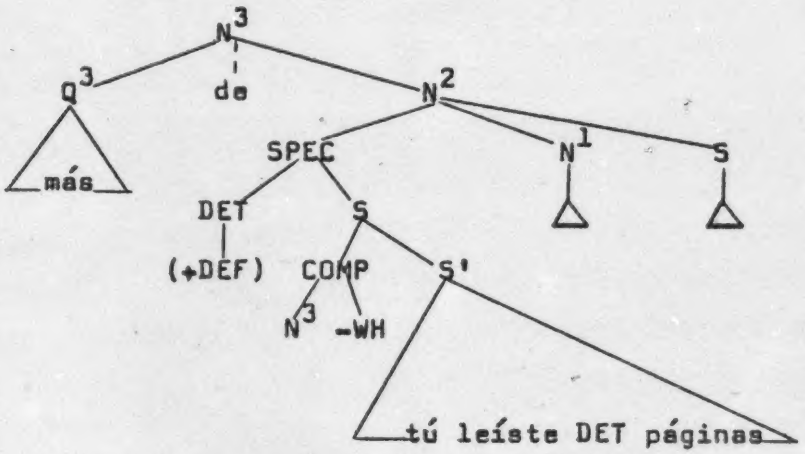
I will conclude this section with tree diagrams of (169-171), given as (175-177) respectively:

(175)



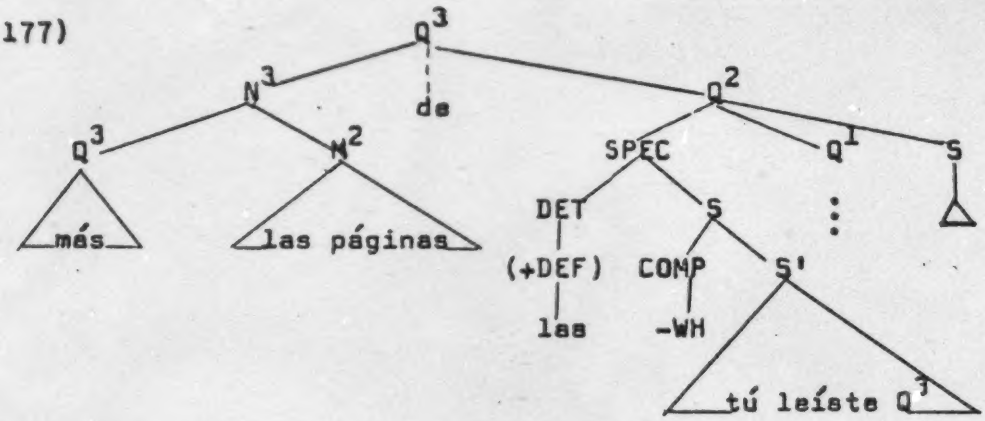
((169) <u>(Yo leí) más de las páginas que tú</u>)

(176)



((170) <u>(Yo leí) más de las páginas que tú leíste</u>)

(177)



((171) <u>(Yo leí) más de las páginas de las que tú leíste)</u>

5.7. <u>Some related structures</u>

The following English sentence, (178), can be translated as either (179a) or (179b):

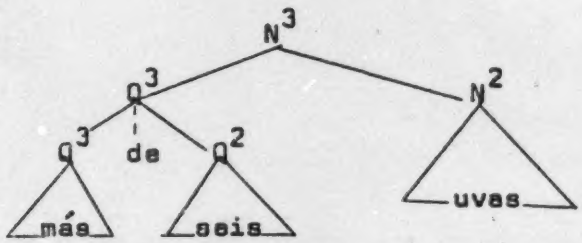
(178) I've eaten more than six grapes

(179)(a) He comido más { de / que } seis uvas

(b)

(179a) means that I've eaten more grapes than six, e.g., I've eaten seven or eight. The structure which I've suggested for such Ss is (180):

(180)



(179b), on the other hand, means that I've eaten something <u>besides</u> six grapes, e.g., I've eaten six grapes and a banana. Only (179b) could be roughly paraphrased as (181):

(181) He comido algo más que seis uvas

'I've eaten something more than six grapes'

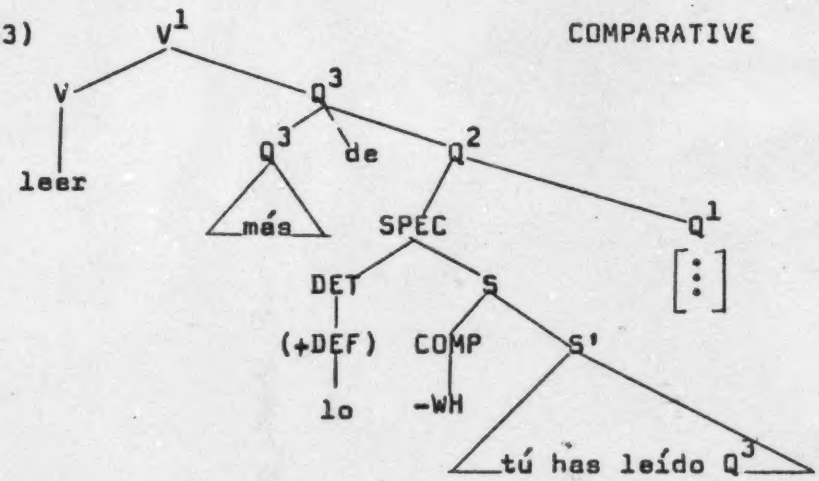
Now compare (182) and (183):

(182)(a) No quiero leer más {de / que} lo que tú has leído

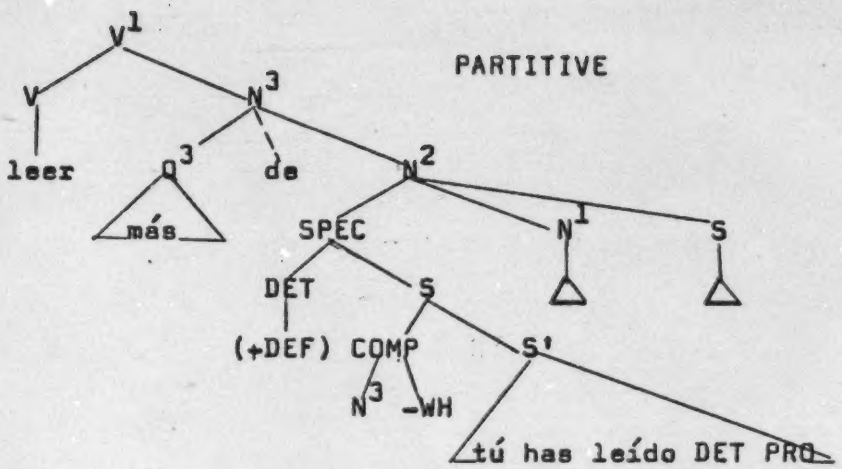
(b)

Recall that (182a) can be either a comparative ('I don't want to read more than you've read'), in which case its deep structure is (183), or a partitive ('I don't want to read more of what you've read'), in which case its underlying structure is (184):

(183)



(184)



Turning now to (182b), note that it could be roughly translated as (185):

(185) 'I don't want to read anything {other than / else but} what you've read'

In (182b) <u>más que lo que tú has leído</u> seems to be understood as an NP. This would be consistent with the rough translation (185), and it would explain the ungrammaticality of strings like (186):

(186) *No quiero dormir más que lo que tú has dormido

(<u>Dormir</u> cannot take a direct object NP.) Compare (186) and (187):

(187) No quiero dormir más de lo que tú has dormido
'I don't want to sleep more than you've slept'

I'll give two further examples:

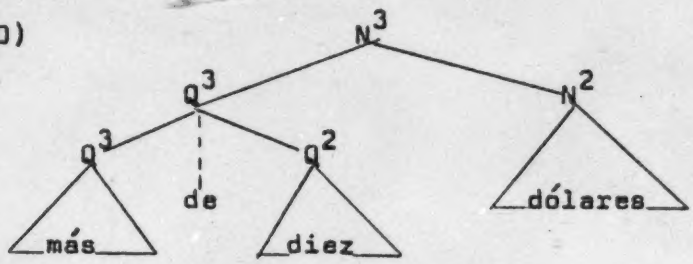
(188) No tengo más de diez dólares

(189) No tengo más que diez dólares

(188) would be appropriate if I didn't know just how much

money I had, but I was sure that the amount didn't surpass ten dollars. (189) means that I have exactly ten dollars, and no other possessions. The structure underlying (188) is as follows:

(190)

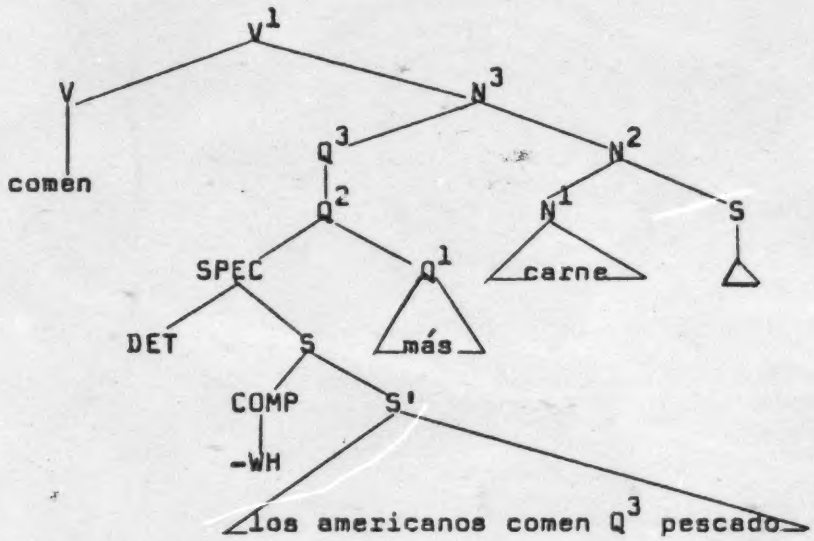


Recall that in the preceding section I've suggested an underlying structure from which the surface string <u>más (NP) que NP</u> sometimes derives. E.g., for (191) and (192) I've suggested underlying structures like (193) and (194) respectively:

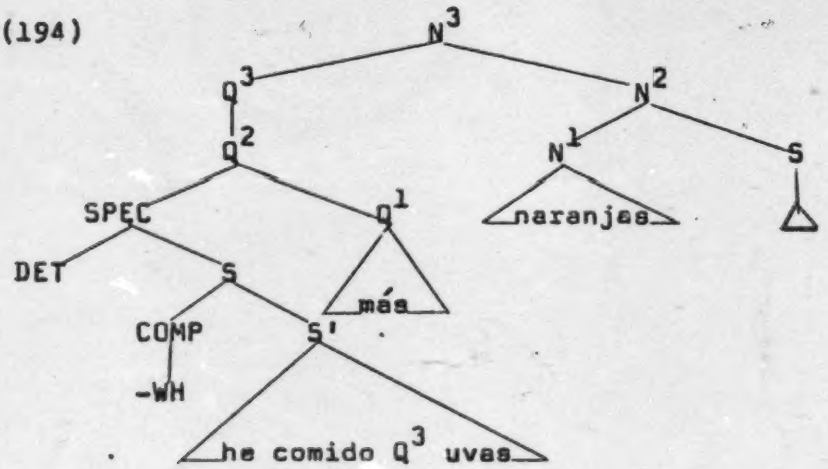
(191) Los americanos comen más carne que pescado

(192) He comido más naranjas que uvas

(193)



(194)



However, Ss like (179b, 182b, 189) differ in several respects from Ss like (191, 192). E.g., consider the following sentences:

(195) He comido más que sólo uvas

(196) He comido más naranjas que (*sólo) uvas

I.e. sólo can occur with constructions like (179b, 182b, 189), but not with those like (191, 192).

Now compare (197) and (198):

(197) Yo como más que (*Juan) uvas

(198) Yo como más naranjas que Juan uvas

In the construction under consideration only one NP can occur in surface structure after más que; but in the comparatives considered in (5.6) more than one is possible. Now consider (199):

(199) Yo he comido más que Juan

(199) is ambiguous, meaning either than I have eaten more food than John has eaten, or that I have eaten John and

something else besides. I.e. in the construction under discussion the NP of <u>más que NP</u> seems to be understood as object of the matrix verb. But if (199) is understood as the type of construction discussed in the previous section, the NP can be understood as subject of the comparative clause.

Now compare (200) and (201):

(200) He comido (algo) más que seis uvas

(201) He comido más naranjas que (*seis) uvas

(201) is a structure of the type discussed previously, and, as has been noted, the QP of the comparative clause S cannot appear in surface structure. But it can be seen that in (200) an overt QP, <u>seis</u>, can occur.

Compare (200) with (202):

(202) He comido naranjas más que uvas

While (202) can be paraphrased as (203), (200) cannot be paraphrased as (204):

(203) He comido naranjas más a menudo que uvas

(204) *He comido algo más a menudo que uvas

And (200) can be paraphrased as (205), but (202) cannot be paraphrased as (206):

(205) He comido algo además de uvas

(206) He comido naranjas, además de uvas

For the time being I must leave open the question of what the underlying structure for these <u>más (NP) que NP</u> constructions looks like, but I hope to have established that these constructions differ from those which were

examined in 5.6.

I will now consider one more aspect of the syntactic behavior of QPs. Compare the following examples:

(207) Hay algunos alumnos

(208) Hay más alumnos

(209) Hay algunos más

(210) *Hay algunos más alumnos

(211) Hay algunos alumnos más

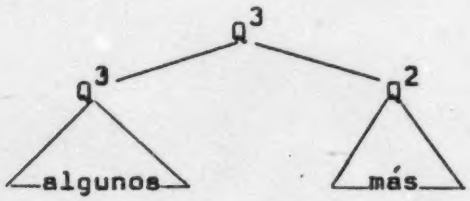
(212) Sólo tengo uno más

(213) *Sólo tengo uno más lápiz

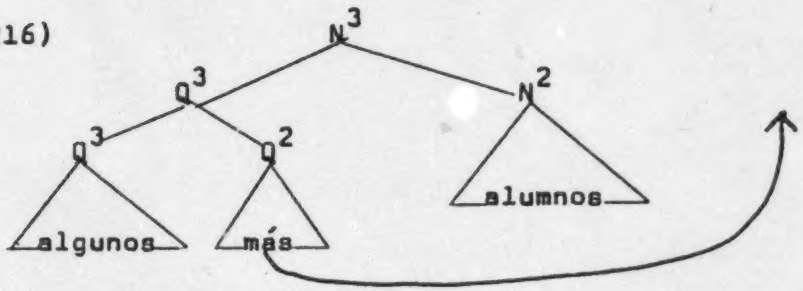
(214) Sólo tengo un lápiz más

It appears that in strings like (211, 214) <u>más</u> may have originated before the head noun, and may have later been moved to the end of the string. This would explain the gaps in the paradigms, (210, 213). The partial underlying structures which I suggest for (209, 211, 212, 214) are (215-218) respectively:

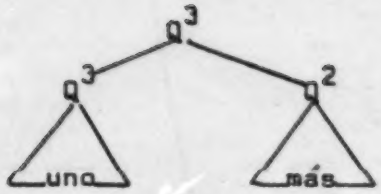
(215)



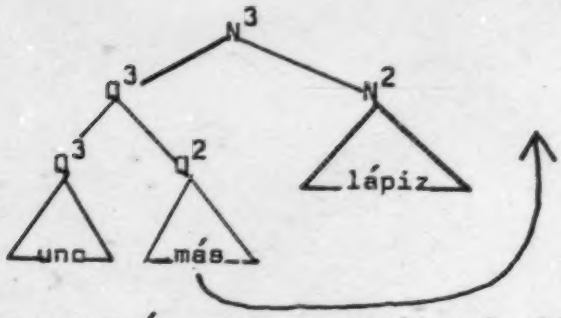
(216)



(217)



(218)



The rule which moves <u>más</u> seems to apply only if a QP precedes it:

(219) Tengo más amigos

(220) *Tengo amigos más

(221) *Tengo dos más amigos

(222) Tengo dos amigos más

Now consider the following pairs of sentences:

(223)(a) Hay {más personas}
(b) {*personas más}

(224)(a) Hay {*más alguien}
(b) {alguien más}

(225)(a) Hay {más cosas}
(b) {*cosas más}

(226)(a) Hay {*más algo}
(b) {algo más}

(223b) and (225b) are ungrammatical because <u>más</u> should not be moved to the end of the NP if no QP precedes it. It appears that the PROs in (224, 226) were preceded by a QP in underlying structure. If so, this would account for the fact that

in (224, 226) más must be moved to the end of the string.

Thus más in (227) has been moved from the position in which it originated in deep structure, but in (228) it has not:

(227) Come algo más que (sólo) pollo

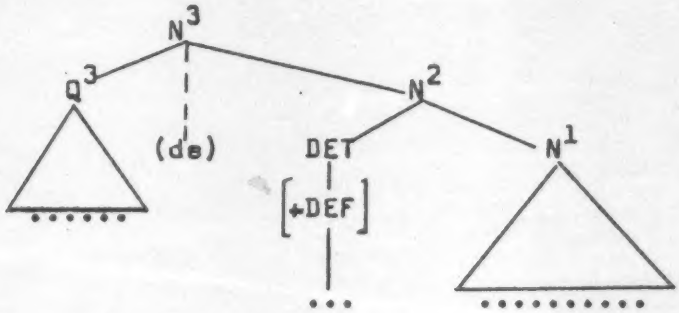
(228) Come pescado más que pollo

This section has compared constructions with más de and constructions with más que. It seems that there are two different sources for the surface string más (NP) que NP. One source has been suggested in 5.6. I have left open the question of the source of the construction discussed in 5.7.

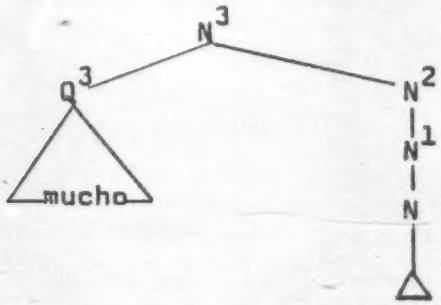
In this chapter it has been seen that comparatives and relatives are similar in several important respects. A comparative clause is an S which originates under the specifier of a QP, while a relative clause is an S which originates under the specifier of an NP. In both cases the subordinate S is extraposed. However, relative clauses involve promotion, and comparative clauses involve deletion. (Cf. Milner (1973), Chapter 1.)

Footnotes to Chapter 5

1. I assume that in sentences like (4-6) the <u>de</u> is inserted transformationally before a definite NP in a configuration such as this:



2. This may suggest that the underlying structure is actually something like this:



This would explain why such QPs can behave like NPs. Another possibility would be that the two categories, QP and NP, have some shared feature.

3. I will leave open the question of the exact form of the comparative S in underlying structure. At this point it is not clear whether deletion or ellipsis is involved.

4. Compare:

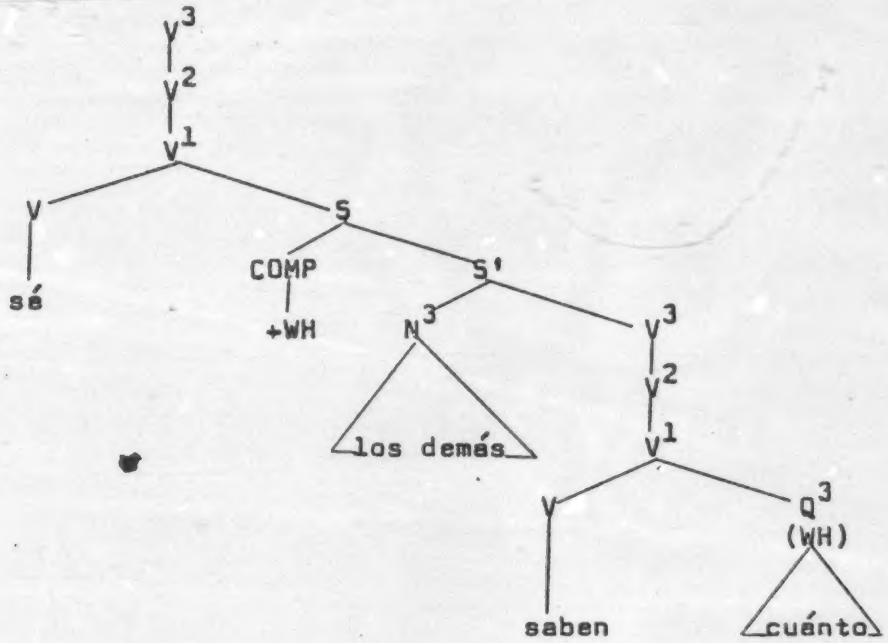
   (i) Este libro es mejor

   'This book is better'

   (ii) Este libro es el mejor

   'This book is the best'

5. The direct object of the matrix verb in these paraphrases is an embedded question. E.g., the approximate partial underlying structure of (103) is as below:



6. In this sense the use of Q^3 in the embedded S is a misleading notation, for in Chapter 4 I have stated that what is promoted is an N^3. However, I have noted (fn. 2) that NPs and QPs might have certain features in common.

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